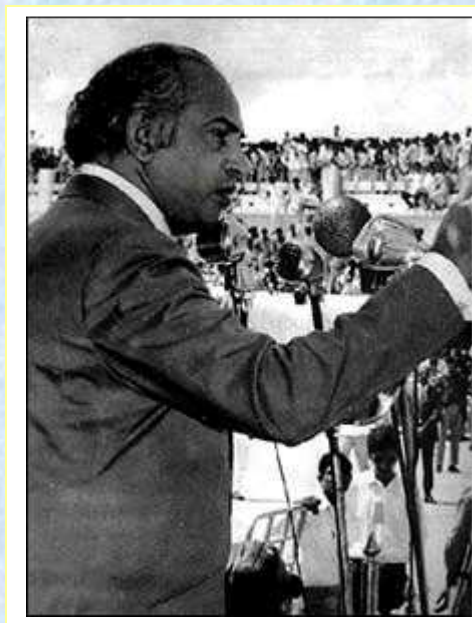


Awakening
the
People

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A collection of articles, statements and speeches
1966 – 1969

By

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INTRODUCTION

When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto left the Government, milling crowds turned out to receive him at Lahore and Karachi. It was an amazing spectacle. With his departure, the people's last hope of the Government vindicating national honor, seemed to have vanished. Bhutto had become a symbol of the nation's urge to regain the pride which Ayub had frittered away at Tashkent in an unequal treaty. The disillusionment of the people who had stood in brave and magnificent defiance of a much stronger enemy only months before, was suddenly complete with Bhutto's exit from a Government which no longer represented the national will, nor seemed to have the strength or ability to defend Pakistan's territorial integrity and ideological identity.

For Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, it was the beginning of a long and arduous struggle which would ultimately lead to the overthrow of a blind and isolated dictator who had imposed his arbitrary will upon the will of the people against all democratic norms and in violation of the national interest. The people of Pakistan, now leaderless and bitter with humiliation, looked for support and guidance. Only Bhutto could give it. History had chosen him for a unique role. He was to fulfil that role against heavy odds. Everything was against him: the brute authority of a repressive Government, the industrial oligarchy, the landed aristocracy and the colonial-style bureaucracy. But he had the people with him. This he knew and this is what gave him strength.

It was not to be an easy road. Many have wondered why Bhutto succeeded in spearheading successfully the movement against Ayub, while the older and more experienced politicians failed. He succeeded because, unlike them, he could understand the poetry and the music of the people's struggle. He succeeded because he did not confine himself to the plush comfort of his

drawing room, merely content with issuing high-sounding statements to the press. He came out, into the open, into the streets. He seized the time. He seized the moment. The people were ready for revolution. He led them into that revolution. He was sensitive to the people and he spoke their idiom. He articulated their aspirations. He showed them the light at the end of the tunnel. He saw the rainbow in the sky and the stars in the firmament. This was Bhutto's magic. This was Bhutto's charisma. This was Bhutto's appeal. That is why he succeeded where others failed.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto knew that what the people of Pakistan needed was a new party, a party with a programme, a party with a manifesto, a party with truth in its heart and defiance in its spirit, a party of revolution and change. Too long the people had been betrayed; too long they had suffered in silence: too long they had been told to respect the abominable status quo. The day of the common man had at last arrived and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had been the first to see the splendid signs of this new and beautiful dawn where others only saw inky darkness.

The Pakistan People's Party was formed at a convention attended by people whom nobody knew in the isolated corridors of power. The establishment press made fun of the new party. One of Ayub's Governors ridiculed Bhutto for addressing gatherings at which nobody came except tongawalas, rickshaw drivers, ordinary workmen and landless peasants. Little did he or his master know that these simple people the salt of the earth, would soon shatter the seemingly impregnable citadel of power whose inhabitants had lost all touch with the masses, all contact with reality.

Bhutto then started to go round the country. He went to small villages, where nobody had gone before. He went to sleepy little towns which had never figured in any Minister's tour itinerary. He went to the slums of the great big cities that the self-proclaimed leaders had never gone to. He went to the students, the

workers, the peasants and spoke to them, while those who had written him off as a nine-day wonder, a mere aberration, an inconvenience, a schoolboy fad, held forth in seminars attended by purchased intellectuals in air-conditioned auditoriums. Bhutto went to the people, the lowly and the poor and they threw their arms around him. He was one of them. He understood their agony and heart-break, their disillusionment. He understood why life had passed them by. He understood their fears and uncertainties in a harsh world where all the fruits of prosperity lay denied to them. He understood their helplessness and their alienation. He spoke to them and they understood what he was saying. They knew then that he would deliver them from dictatorship and bring sunshine into their lives. He spoke to them of exploitation and injustice. He told them how they had been used for two decades so that 20 families should prosper while the sweat never dried from their weary brows and their stomachs remained empty despite grueling labor. He told them why their children could not go to school, their sick to hospitals and why wedding bells could not ring for their daughters in the city of lights, the lights of the rich. He demolished the sickeningly repetitive claims that Ayub's henchmen made from morning till night of the great progress the country had made. While they spoke of growth rates and what some Harvard economist had said about Pakistan's amazing development performance, Bhutto told them the truth. He told them and they understood that it was not the divine will that they should live in everlasting poverty while the whole world prospered.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had to fight and defeat many shibboleths. He fought against those who called him an infidel, an excommunicate because he had spoken of justice, of equality, of socialism. He denounced those hired religious leaders and obscurantist fanatics who proclaimed that Islamic socialism meant the death of Islam. And while they kept on trying to destroy Bhutto and his revolution, Bhutto was moving forward defiantly and the people were behind him. They tried everything. There were assassination attempts and false police cases, there was persecution of his friends and family, there was imprisonment. Bhutto

took it all in his stride and the people followed him. He was the leader and only the iniquitous coterie of a defunct power machine was unaware of it.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rise was spectacular. Till the eve of the 1970 elections which he was to sweep in West Pakistan, he was being credited by his enemies with nothing more than a handful of chance seats. He was to prove them wrong. The verdict he received was so clear and overwhelming that it dazed his enemies, the people's enemies. But this was not the end of the struggle. The dark forces of reaction and conspiracy regrouped them-selves and tried to block and defeat the people's mandate. Bhutto warned them against the writing on the wall, against the impending disaster, but their eyes were blind and their hearts were flint. The tragic events that were to lead to the breakup of Pakistan are now a matter of history, as are the causes.

This volume of the book covers the last thirty months of Ayub regime, a fateful period in Pakistan's history. You can see here Bhutto the crusader, the revolutionary, the people's fearless leader who liberated the country from the dark night of oppression. You can hear in these pages the thunder of his voice. You can feel, even in cold print, the white heat of his convictions and struggle. You can see the iron in his soul, and hear the song in his heart and the splendid music of his great commitment.

Perhaps some of the speeches may be found repetitive but it must be understood that the message Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was to carry from town to town and village to village was basic and fundamental. It could bear repetition. It was a message that had to be taken to the people wherever they were, carried with the same fire, the same intensity. The message was revolution — and there is no substitute for revolution, either the word or the concept.

***Address to All Pakistan Students Federation
Conway Hall, London, August 13, 1966***

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am not supposed to be in good health. But I can assure you no matter how poor my health, it is sufficient for India. I am really delighted and honored to meet you. I say I am honored to meet you because I was advised that it would not be a good thing for me to meet and address Pakistanis in England. I thought about it. I gave it some thought because the advice came from some good friends and I have not spoken since I left the Cabinet. I have not spoken in the country for good reason and I don't think that I would like to speak here, also for good reason, on internal matters. I would not like to refer to any question or matter relating to our internal conditions which in legal parlance, I call, within the domestic jurisdiction of the state, for a number of reasons. And I think you can understand them. One is that, as the President himself has repeatedly said in the recent past, Pakistan is going through a difficult period. And undoubtedly, if you look at the objective conditions, we are going through a difficult period.

It is a challenge which we have to face and meet like any other country in Africa and Asia. Some of these factors are inherent in the objective realities which face newly emergent countries in Asia and Africa. Some of them are essentially peculiar to Pakistan. So that's one good reason, why I would not like to touch upon internal conditions. The other good reason is that I would not like to speak on internal matters in a foreign land and especially in a country which has ruled us for two hundred years. It could be derogatory to the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan for me to speak on its internal conditions in Great Britain. There is one more good reason why I would not like to speak on internal matters. You are all enlightened people; you all have taken interest in the affairs of the country. I know, I have been a student like you. I have been to Gibson and Weldon also. And I am aware of the problems that face you and how deeply you

are involved in the country's future and the country's interest, and you come to your own conclusions. It is not necessary for me to call a spade a spade and to talk on matters, to which, I am sure, you have given very deep and profound thought.

So taking all these things into account I hope you will forgive me, if you are expecting me to talk on the Tashkent spirit or any other intoxication, if I don't speak on such subjects. But I would like to talk generally on international relations because I have dealt with that subject for a number of years; and I have been personally and directly involved in the evolution of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Of course, I was only an instrument in the execution of Pakistan's foreign policy and only an agent according to the constitution and even otherwise. So, I don't take any credit for having rendered any contribution to my country. But I think it is a truism that anyone who is responsible, anyone who is in government, anyone who has a responsibility, should make a contribution to his country.

And from that point of view, I would not say I am being immodest or I am violating the constitution or any sanctity if I say it gave me great honour and great satisfaction to represent a hundred million people the like of whom I have never seen anywhere in the world. I was wondering whether I should write a speech or speak from notes. I thought about it, I wondered, and I said that if I was addressing some people in Larkana which is my home town, I perhaps would jot down a few points; but you people are too sophisticated for me. And I thought that it would be much better if I spoke off the cuff and shared our thoughts and got into a communication between ourselves, rather than to jot down points to speak on any specific subject. And if I were to ramble and meander in this manner, I would like to say that the thing that struck me since I left Government is that the foreign press of Western countries has labeled me pro-Peking and pro-Chinese. As I said in Cairo, where I was a guest of the UAR Government because Gamal Abdel Nasser very kindly invited me to stay there, to an Indian

correspondent who had come to see me, "I am a Pakistani, that's all I am. I believe in my country's interests and in safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan."

Millions of lives were lost for the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan is a great ideal. I was a student when the whole concept of Pakistan emerged and to me Pakistan was the handsomest offspring of self-determination. And Pakistan will always remain. Pakistan has a role to play in Asia and Africa, in the world. It is the voice of a hundred million people articulated on the purity of an ideal. And there is nothing more important than an ideal. Now this may be unrealistic; this may not be pragmatic; this may not be down to earth. But everything is not achieved by being down to earth. I do not know this phrase "down to earth" is an Anglo-Saxon expression. But nonetheless "down to earth" is a concept which I do not fully understand, because there is nothing stronger than the force of an ideal—the first of principles.

And that is why although India is much larger than us, in geography, in resources, in military hardware, in every sense. I am of the firm conviction that we are bound to prevail. We are bound to prevail because we have espoused a great and honourable cause. One day I was told that the Indian army is three times the size of Pakistan's. Now it is supposed to have become four times the size of Pakistan's. And I gave a non-military answer. "That means", I said, "our soldiers will have to shoot three times more—that's all." And now they are threatening us with the atom bomb. Well after all, science and technology are everyone's right. Man goes to the moon. Progress and scientific technology cannot be restricted. If India has the bomb, that does not mean that we are going to be subjected to nuclear blackmail, because the question here is not of arms, against having less arms: the question here is of right against wrong.

Therefore, I am not concerned if India's military strength is augmented, because Pakistan stands for a right cause, a just cause, and a right and just

cause must prevail. This is the history of the world. You go back to Rome. There was Spartacus against Rome: Carthage against Rome. Weak empires have dwindled. The British empire is gone. The French empire is gone. The oppressed must be the victors over the oppressors. It is OUR position that the five million people of Kashmir are the oppressed. And by standing by them, by upholding the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, we have not to consider in any way, the size, the resources or the support that India gets from any quarter, because we must prevail. The hundred million people must continue to struggle. And this struggle must continue until it has been fulfilled. It is only a question of stamina. It is not a question of resources. It is not a question of might. It is a question of stamina and will. You must have the will to continue the struggle. And the people of Pakistan I hope, will have the massive will to continue to uphold the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir because here they are supporting an ideal; supporting the very basis of Pakistan.

Sometimes now, it is said, I know from what quarters and from where, that Kashmir is an old problem. After all, there are insoluble problems, there are insoluble disputes like Berlin. And this is another insoluble problem. That's one argument that is used. The other argument that is used, also from interested and special quarters is: Why should fifty-five million people of East Pakistan make sacrifices for the five million people of Kashmir? Why not let economic development take place? After all, economic development is more important; and we have lived with this problem. We can live with it for the future. It is not that at all. These arguments refute the will of the people of a country. We should take a direct lesson from Vietnam. The struggle in Vietnam has a great bearing on the future of the world, particularly on Asia and the subcontinent. The Vietnam Government does not use phrases like "an equitable solution" or "meaningful discussions." They say, "Get out and then talk".

We ask for self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and nothing else. I must tell you that at the time of partition, we lost Gurdaspur: we

lost areas in East Pakistan, certain regions of Assam and Tripura and we rationalised. After all, we argued, if you get an independent country, it is more important to hold on to it than to seek instant justice. This is in the process of upheaval, in the process of revolution. And, therefore, we had to accept the position and on that account we rationalised on other matters. But if you keep rationalising, there will be a gradual territorial attrition of Pakistan. If today you take the argument that the five million people of Jammu and Kashmir should not be sacrificed for the fifty-five million people of East Pakistan, that will lead to our undoing.

Let us take that to its logical conclusion. It sounds all right if you believe in the status quo if you are belying facts: if you want to just sit on your back: if you don't want to be a part of the music of change, of metamorphosis, then, of course, you can logically argue that way. But let us take it to its logical conclusion and I am not saying something new, I have said this before, if this argument is taken to its logical conclusion, that means it is all right to leave the five million people of Jammu and Kashmir and say that they are not worth the sacrifice of fifty-five million people of East Pakistan and the fifty million people of West Pakistan. But does the problem end there? The problem does not end there. When India having whetted its appetite, starts something in the Rann of Kutch, then you can argue with equal validity: "The peoples of Karachi and Sind, being so many in number are not worth the 80 million people of Pakistan. So why not give up Sind and Karachi?" Then they will say, "Well, Afghanistan has some claim. Then the thirty lakh people or forty lakh people of that region should go because a hundred million people cannot sacrifice them-selves for three hundred thousand. So why not give up your territorial claim there?" Then comes Baluchistan and they say, "Well, all right, after all, these are only seven million people and what the hell! It is only rocks and stone. Give up Baluchistan."

It is an argument, therefore, which is used by some superficial quarters and some vested interests. We must realise that the struggle for Kashmir is not

something which is an obsession with us; it is a principle: it is the completion of Pakistan. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, I firmly believe that without Kashmir Pakistan is a body without a head and it is a very beautiful head we cannot abandon that struggle. It is out of the question. But in order to espouse that cause and in order to continue that struggle, we need all our resources all our unity. And we must support principles throughout the world. We cannot expect people in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Ivory Coast to support Pakistan on Kashmir, if we do not also support their cause, because that is not something which is our private reserve. We go to some country and say that they must support us. They would ask us why? We have to give them reasons. When countries support us on Jammu and Kashmir, it is not on a partisan basis; it is on principle. I have repeatedly said that when countries say there should be self-determination in Jammu and Kashmir, it is not that they are taking a pro-Pakistan position and an anti-India position; it is that they are taking a right position, a judicious and just position which in the twentieth century one expects from important and sovereign states.

That is why it is important for Afro-Asian solidarity to crystallise, because we belong to the underdeveloped countries. We are the proletariat of the world. We have gone through great difficulties, trials, tribulations, poverty, disease, misery, exploitation and domination. It is not just a phenomenon which is confined to the subcontinent. It is a world-wide phenomenon and, therefore, we have to co-operate, collaborate, get-together, assist one another, whatever the odds or difficulties. There are bound to be setbacks. There will be ups and downs. There are bound to be vicissitudes. People may change. Ministers may go. Presidents may go, people who hold the right cause may go, but eventually and finally the right cause and justice must prevail. And Asia and Africa must have a better day. We are not asking for domination of any part of the world. We are just asking for a better life. Our people deserve it. For centuries they have lived in misery, squalor, filth and poverty.

Is it unfair when we ask for an end to this exploitation? Is it unfair that we want our children to get a better education? Must we be labelled as communists and various other things merely because we fight against domination, because we rise against exploitation? Must we be blackmailed and must we be slandered in this fashion merely because we say it is not the law of God that people should not have a better life, that children should not have smiles on their faces, that they should not be able to go to schools, that they should not be able to have an education? For that, must we be stigmatised, must we be called pro-Peking or pro-something else, just because we want to defend our sovereignty and integrity and our national independence and give our people a more egalitarian future?

Did we fight for our independence so that we should live in misery, so that we should live without respect? Independence becomes meaningless, just an abstract expression, if it is not taken to its logical culmination. People must have a better life. Their children must go to school. They must have employment. They must be able to have social security. They must be able to have social facilities and a cultural existence of their very own. Where is the opposition to any ideology or to any group or to any country? If the people of Asia and Africa cry for justice, after centuries of exploitation and domination, it is not because Afro-Asian solidarity is directed against "any other country. It is not directed against any force. It is for self-preservation. It is for the consolidation of national independence. This is something which is due to us. It is a part of the process of independence. And I do not, therefore, see why there should be so much hatred or so much fear against the concept of Afro-Asian solidarity.

It is said that it is a myth, that it is not a reality. What is a myth? It's again an ideal. It is again an expression of decolonisation and of the quest for a better life. This quest is not directed against any country in the world. And, therefore, when we say, there should be Afro-Asian solidarity and the nations of Asia and Africa must get together, that does not mean there should be a coup d'etat and revolution where a conference is going to be held. But if there are coups d'etat

and revolutions, then we have to face the odds if you want to espouse the right cause. You must be prepared for sacrifices. You must be prepared to go through a long struggle. And in Asia and Africa we are going through a long struggle. And I tell you that once that struggle is completed the relations between Asia and Europe will be much better. It may seem a contradiction today but I will give you my own reasons why I think this would be so, once we have really removed the vestiges of all foreign domination and of all grotesque interference. Once we have removed those factors with sacrifices we will realise that relations between Asia and Europe will be better. Why they will be better is because both Asia and Europe have a geographical propinquity. They are close together geographically. Both Asia and Europe are the homes of old ideas of religion and philosophy. They have gone through war and turmoil more than any other continent. And they know-what it means to suffer.

But in the age of domination, differences between Asia and Europe became great because the era of domination accentuated not the common factors but the differences. Once you remove domination, once domination comes to an end, the common factors come into operation. And that is why, I believe, rightly or wrongly, that General de Gaulle espouses a great ideal when he talks about European Europe. As there must be a European Europe, there must be an Asian Asia. Talking in terms of an Asian Asia as Pakistanis, we must take into account the fact that we are a hundred million people living in Asia. China is in Asia. Any development, any progress that takes place in Asia must take into account the Chinese factor. We must first take the Chinese factor into account. Secondly, we have a common boundary with China, along four hundred square miles or more of the most rugged area.

They are our immediate neighbours. We look at each other face to face every day. We must have some understanding and some modus vivendi. That's not being a communist. Thirdly, no problem of Asia can be solved without the participation of China, as no problem of Europe can be solved without the

participation of the great European Powers. Fourthly, we are a small country; we are an underdeveloped country. We want to see the United Nations, as a collective force, grow in strength. How can you have United Nations which in its charter believes in the universality of representation but keeps the real China out? When we say that 700 million people should be included that's not being pro-Chinese. That is accepting the reality of life. Then for the last thirty or forty years there have been disarmament conferences. How can you have disarmament, true and meaningful disarmament, when you exclude seven hundred million people and a nuclear power from the disarmament conference? So, when we say that these are the objective facts and the objective realities of the situation, that should be understood. That should be understood by the West and it should be understood every-where.

It is a great pity, that people should be labelled, leaders should be labelled, others should be labelled pro-Peking or pro-Chinese. The facts of history must prevail. We are not being communists. We have our ideology. We are proud of it. And Pakistan, I think, has a contribution to make, as I told you at the very outset, on an ideological plane and on an ideological basis. There have been many times when Pakistan has, rightly or according to its own judgement, not agreed with certain views of China, or of the United States for that matter. But this cannot detract from the objective considerations. Also, taking into account the objective considerations. India is a great objective consideration. It has been said that I am anti-India. Why should I be anti-India? There is no reason for us to be anti-India. As Muslims we are supposed to be magnanimous. We got Pakistan. We got what we wanted. Why should we be anti-India? There is no basis for me to be anti-India. The question is that India is a great fraud. What can I do about that? You remove the fraud and the chicanery and there is no basis for the people of Pakistan to have anything against the people of India.

The people of India and the people of Pakistan share a common history. We are part of the same geography, the same geographical compulsions, the

same geo-political factors. We share poverty. We are part of the same music and march of Afro-Asian solidarity. So we have nothing against the people of India. All that we ask for is co-operation to exist, for co-operation as among equals. Co-operation must be on the basis of reciprocity. Co-operation must be when nobody is trying to strike someone else down. Co-operation should not be a means to subjugation. Co-operation should not be something that you come through the back door and knife someone, as Shivajee knifed Afzal Khan. When these new conditions exist, then we would be only too happy to co-operate with India. But until the fraud and the force and the chicanery is removed. I believe confrontation must continue. When a prowler comes into your room you don't put off the lights, you put on the lights. That's what confrontation means. Expose the wrong-doer, expose the delinquent.

Reference has been made to a thousand years of war. It was a political and metaphorical phrase. We do not have to fight for a thousand years, but please do not forget there is a thousand years conflict behind us. Must our quarrel with India be eternal? It can come to an end on the basis of justice and equity. But if there was ever a quarrel in the whole world, it is between India and Pakistan. It can only come to an end on the basis of justice, which means not only the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, but proper treatment of minorities.

For the first time, I have spoken that we have rights in East Pakistan also. Pakistan has legitimate rights in the Eastern part and a time will come when I will mention those rights. Those rights must be fulfilled. The wrong against Pakistan must be put right. Till then, I am quite convinced in my mind that whatever the turmoil and the difficulties, eventually, we shall succeed. Now sometimes we are given very good advice and we are told. "Look here, old boys, be nice, you know!" We are told that this is not the right thing to do. After all, you must live in peace, you live next door to each other. But I tell all our friends from wherever they be to heal themselves. When it comes to your own problems then you are

prepared to forget every thing. You are prepared to close your eyes on Vietnam, on Southern Rhodesia for the pound sterling. You are prepared to forget everything. You are prepared to do whatever you like. But when it comes to us. You tell us, "Now, look here boys!"

I was a Minister for eight years. It is a long time. I was not ever anti-British, because I do not believe that we should carry over the legacies and bitterness of a struggle when it is finished. We are Muslims. The struggle is completed. We have survived. We are victorious. Let bygones be bygones. This is our weakness. This is our temperament. The British have great qualities. They are a resourceful country and they are skilful. They have many virtues and they know it. But taking everything into account. I don't think I will be misunderstood if I were to say that our relationship in this country must be more realistic. We are on the eve of a Commonwealth Conference. It is taking place in a few weeks' time. Have they and have we really and honestly asked ourselves if there is any virtue left in this institution? If we believe that, we must take into account the objective conditions, and I believe that time has come when we have to reassess our attitude to the Commonwealth without, in any way, affecting our bilateral relations with the United Kingdom.

Let me tell you that I am going to meander on the subject. Let me briefly tell you what the contradictions are. The Commonwealth exists because there are disputes. Disputes are not supposed to be reconciled by the Commonwealth. India became a part of the Commonwealth not because Nehru had great ideals of a multi-racial organisation, but because he was in Kashmir and he wanted British support. We also had to become a member of the Commonwealth because if India became a member and we did not, we would not have had the support. At least, this is how we argued it. In Africa also the same position exists. The African states have territorial claims against each other and have their membership in many cases. I have often wondered what the virtue and the vitality of the Commonwealth is and I have come to one conclusion that at the

end of every Commonwealth meeting— I hope I am not revealing any secrets—it is said, "You know it is very good that we met and exchanged views. This in itself is very important."

Well, that is very good. But is it going to lead to the lessening of tensions? Disputes motivate Commonwealth membership of Asian-African states and disputes are not supposed to be resolved in the Commonwealth Conference. Disputes accentuate tensions and these tensions characterise the Commonwealth. Secondly, the whole face of Asia and Africa has changed. We are going through really an upheaval. We must have the best of relations bilaterally, but we must not confuse our people. Our people are not sophisticated. They may say. "What is the meaning of this? On the one hand, you say there is colonialism and neo-colonialism and exploitation. On the other hand, you say the very fact that we have met is a very good thing."

Our people must know where they stand, what is their position. Our place is in Asia and nowhere else. That we have to forge our future in Asia does not mean there should be no contact at all with the West. The contact with the West is useful. I tell you that one of the greatest satisfactions I had as Foreign Minister is the contact that I forged between France and Pakistan, because they understand our music. Perhaps, there is something in them. They have given self-determination to their colonies. They have given self-determination to Algeria. They know the role of China in Asia. They know the position of Vietnam. And we have to develop good contacts. There can never be anything like a break in relations. How can relations be broken? Why should relations be broken? We want to foster relations. What is the basis of fostering relations? It is not on the basis of East of Suez. What is this sophisticated show of neo-colonialism, this chauvinism East of Suez? East of Suez means that the policy of West of Suez must be different. What is the policy West of Suez? West of Suez policy is co-operation, goodwill, fraternity. If you get thrown out of the Commonwealth try and set back into the Common Market. No exploitation, no domination. But there

must be a different policy East of Suez. You have lost all your teeth, yet you want to show your teeth. Policy East of Suez in political terms can only be described as domination and interference in South Arabia, in the UAR, in the subcontinent and in Malaysia.

We want to have good, fraternal and sound relations with Great Britain and others. Great Britain must realise its present capacity. It must know its role. It cannot play a triple role. It does not have the capacity to play a triple role in the Atlantic, in Europe, in the Commonwealth and East of Suez. The pound sterling is collapsing. Mr. Wilson must do all sorts of things. And yet they have a triple role to play and they must lecture and pontificate to us as to what our foreign policy should be, who should or should not be a minister. That story I have still to tell, but in the national interest I will not. But one day I will have to tell of this gross and grotesque interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. So let everyone cultivate his own backyard. Let people develop according to their own national mores, according to their own national traditions. Let everyone develop relations on the basis of geographical and political considerations, on account of the compulsions of time and not get labelled in terms of black and white. There is no black and white left. The world has become grey. Thus let the natural evolution take place.

It is said there will be an upheaval. Why should we be afraid of an upheaval? When you are striving to have justice, when you are striving for a great ideal, it must be on the basis of an upheaval. There must be change. It took place in Europe. From 1848 they had their revolutions. They had a revolution in France. They had a revolution here in this country of its own nature. There have been revolutions everywhere. Asia is going through a change. The face of Asia is changing and you must understand that the main difficulty, the main problem is that either they refuse to understand it or they do not want to understand it. But you must understand that the change will take place whether or not you close your eyes to it.

And the change is a beautiful change. It is a great change. There are many scars on the face of Asia today, but it has got a smile on its face at the same time. There can never be a farewell to sunshine. We must go through this stage. We must be prepared for it. I believe that Asia, and particularly Pakistan which is a nation of a hundred million people, must take into account all these factors, all these considerations. We cannot confine our relations to certain considerations alone. You have to look at the totality of things. You have to look at the whole picture, the whole canvas, not only for the present but for the future also. And I know, in our part of the world, part of the legacy left behind by colonialism is a certain brand of politics.

But if you really examine the true nature of politics, the role of the politician is a great role, a great challenge. A politician has to be a mathematician. He has to calculate, take into account everything. A politician must be a musician and romanticist. This does not mean that he should go to a nightclub. But he must know the tempo of the time, the rhythms of revolution. A politician must be an architect. He must build for the present as well as for the future. Those who are involved in the political life of our Asia—and I would like to talk of Asia in personal terms, of our dear Asia — must know the rhythm of the times. We must know and we must think of our country not only in terms of our country but in terms of its totality. There was a time when Pakistan thought there was only India and the rest of the world fitted into that picture. Now there is a world and India is a part of that world. And this is what I mean by the totality of things.

It is my firm conviction that East and West Pakistan can achieve the most sublime balance. When we talk of parity, it is not really a political expression. Parity, if you bring it down to earth, is balance. It is like two wheels on a pulley. You remove one wheel, the other must fall. This is where balance lies. Two great Muslim forces galvanising against a decadent society. This must continue not only in the interest of East and West Pakistan, but also in the interest of progress, in the interest of evolution of the right ideal and, above all, in order to

expose fraudulent politics. We must continue this great partnership, this heroic partnership. Eighteen years have passed, eighty years will pass, but the unity will continue. It has to continue in the interest of both the wings of Pakistan. I believe that we may have differences; we may have our difficulties but overriding these considerations is this great common factor that we need each other and we need this balance in the subcontinent. It has to exist in the interest of Pakistan. If you examine the problem of West Pakistan without East Pakistan, you come to a dead end. If you examine the problem of East Pakistan without West Pakistan, you come to the same dead end.

And as I said Pakistan is the handsomest offspring of self-determination. It is the will of a hundred million people in which the people of Bengal were in the vanguard. This cannot be forgotten. We must bury our prejudices. We must forget our differences.

Every country in the underdeveloped region has fissionary tendencies. You look from Nigeria to Indonesia and you will always see some centrifugal forces, the north and the south, the east and the west. Sumatra, Java, Northern Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria. We have to overcome the difficulties. We have to see that the consolidation of the nation takes place. Why should people be interested in the unity and common interest of a region? It is for us to show the interest because the seeds of discord will always be laid. It will be for the leadership of Asia and Africa to banish disunity, from Nigeria right upto Japan. Anywhere you go, you will find these factors because a complete evolution has not yet taken place; but this evolution must take place. It has to take place.

These are the realities of life we have to face. Yes, we are separated by a thousand miles of territory and the people speak Urdu and Bengali. Nevertheless, both the forces that unite us and the factors that divide us "should be taken into account. I know Mr. Mujibur Rahman very well. I met him just before he was interned. We had long discussions. I said. "Let us address public

meetings." Therefore, it is not that we should look at things in our own country in terms of black and white, just as I have appealed to you not to look into international problems in terms of black and white. Whatever our faults, are our faults, and we should admit them. We should try and find a solution. Solutions are bound to be there: because there is a common interest and there is a will to survive. And as I said, divided, there is disaster for us, for both East and West. I believe that both East and West Pakistan have made a great contribution to the unity of Pakistan. The last war against India showed it. It was a glorious period in our history.

It was really a great period in the history of Pakistan. It was great how the nation unitedly stood as a rock, against the onslaught of a predator. The Indians said that by evening Lahore shall fall. And my reply was no Indian mother had given birth to an Indian who could take Lahore. So it is not the size of India or the military resources of India that matters. What is required is stamina. We have this stamina. We have the will. We have a cause which is right and just. We shall uphold it and Insha Allah we shall succeed.

Interview to B.B.C.

London, August, 1966

B.B.C.: There is so much of conflicting interest in Asian nations and likewise in Africa. Do you think it is possible for Africa and Asia to form a united front against the West politically and economically?

Bhutto: Afro-Asian solidarity, in my mind, is not directed against the West: it is not directed against any other force or power. It is a great misconception that some countries think that Afro-Asian solidarity is directed against them. And, therefore they describe and call it a myth. But it is inevitable. These are proletarian nations and they are underdeveloped. Their problems are of common interest and they have to collectively safe-guard their interests. It is then a question of safeguarding our interests and it is not a question of taking initiatives. With the onslaught and the gross interference in the internal affairs of Asia and Africa it is essential that we get together and have a solidarity and common interest.

B.B.C.: Do you see the current politics in China as indicative of a new system of Government?

Bhutto: I do not know. I would not call it a purge. I think it is an internal situation and they have the capacity and they have the leadership to know what is in their interest. I would not call it anything beyond their internal situation.

B.B.C.: Do you foresee a more relaxed form of Government in China?

Bhutto: That depends on the attitude towards China. China can only take a relaxed attitude or a relaxed form if the position towards China is more flexible. But at the present time the position towards China is a very rigid one. In fact,

demonstrations are taking place everywhere against China and obviously the people in that country want to safeguard their interests.

B.B.C.: Already there is regional co-operation between Turkey, Pakistan and Persia. Do you foresee a confederation of these three countries when the Kashmir conflict is resolved?

Bhutto: There are many links and affinities between our countries which have been put to good use with good leadership. I think that the prospects of much greater co-operation exist among our three countries. At the same time we must take into account that Pakistan is in two halves. There is the East and the West. The majority of our people live in the East, so it calls for some co-operation with the Eastern countries as well. In this respect this was my effort to try and bring Pakistan and Indonesia closer together and it has given us a good balance because the future of Pakistan depends on a balance between the East and the West. I cannot envisage anything for the country more important than having greater links between Pakistan and Indonesia.

B.B.C.: There have been reports about the Chinese supplying arms to Pakistan. Is there any truth in this?

Bhutto: I suppose everyone knows about it. You cannot keep these things secret. The question is if we have received them, we must take into account the circumstances and conditions in which we can take arms from China. We were victims of aggression and the arms supplied by the Western countries, our allies, our friends were suspended. If you are fighting for your life and you want a gun to defend yourself and to defend Pakistan's territorial and national integrity, and the Government seeks assistance from else-where, it should be understood.

B.B. C.: Do you think that the Tashkent agreement is working or moving towards its failure?

Bhutto: Much has been said on the Tashkent agreement, the Tashkent spirit. India says that Pakistan is violating the Tashkent agreement. Pakistan says India is violating the Tashkent agreement. Tashkent is not a catholic term, not comprehensive. It is not a totality. An effort was made to bring about reconciliation between India and Pakistan. Efforts have been made in the past and for every effort we are grateful and thankful. But this over - capitalization of a particular effort leads to some error and some confusion. I am not in any way detracting from the efforts made by the Soviet Union. We are grateful to the Soviet Union. It must be understood and known that I was the first person to initiate in Pakistan relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union in 1960, when I went to the Soviet Union to sign an oil deal. I have repeatedly said that we should have good relations with the Soviet Union. I would like to see Pakistan have even better relations with the Soviet Union, but they must be rooted in realities and the reality is not to overplay Tashkent.

B.B.C.: Since your resignation do you visualise a change in Pakistan's foreign policy and altitude towards the West?

Bhutto: We were never anti - West, though, I know, I have been described as anti - West. I don't think I am anti-West at all. I have great affinities and liking for the West. I see great possibilities of co-operation between Asia and Europe. It was in my tenure that relations between Pakistan and France, for instance, made many strides. And I think that France is a part of the West. No matter what some people may say about General de Gaulle's policies, these policies are totally successful, but that is beside the point. However, I do not think there is any likelihood of any basic change.

B.B.C.: Do you intend after your tour to go back into politics?

Bhutto: Well, I have not left politics.

Pakistan and Nuclear-Proliferation

Larkana, December 29, 1966

In defence of the United Nations resolution for a conference of non-nuclear states to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, Mr. Pirzada, the Foreign Minister, has given some reasons which require to be answered.

In one form or another, at three separate places, Mr. Pirzada's rejoinder expresses satisfaction over the resolution because it has been "widely supported". In reality, when 56 States including all the great nuclear Powers in the United Nations, except United Kingdom, abstain, the resolution cannot claim to have a record of "wide support." Those who are familiar with the procedures of the United Nations know that in such situations an abstention amounts to a polite negative vote. If a more pointed barometer were to be sought it would be found in the recently composed preparatory committee for the conference on which, according to Dawn's New York correspondent, even neutral European nations like Austria and Sweden refused to serve.

We simply cannot take any solace in the attitude of states which are immune from a nuclear challenge from their neighbours and for whom this nightmare is never likely to arise. Pakistan's position is entirely different because, for us, the nuclear threat is real and immediate. What is of paramount importance is not the support of non-nuclear nations but the attitude of nuclear states. It is their attitude and conduct which is of decisive significance to the problem of proliferation.

Except for United Kingdom, which for understandable reasons supported the resolution, all the remaining nuclear powers abstained. China, the fifth nuclear power, which is outside the United Nations, has time and again denounced non-proliferation as a means of nuclear monopoly.

In our own region, India, which is reported to be on the threshold of becoming nuclear and for Pakistan the only country that really matters in this particular context, opposed the resolution. Thus, without much difficulty, it can be seen that the support of nuclear "have-nots," so to speak, is not pertinent to Pakistan's predicament.

Indeed, with India remaining outside the net of the resolution along with all the nuclear powers save United Kingdom the *raison d'etre* of the diplomatic exercise collapses and the "wide support" from here, there and everywhere except from where it matters is rendered meaningless.

Mr. Pirzada contends that the resolution calls for a conference and does not bind Pakistan to an agreement. A resolution emerges from an agreement in spite of what Mr. Krishna Menon repeatedly claimed to the contrary in his marathon speeches in the United Nations on the Jammu and Kashmir resolutions.

But let us for once agree with Mr. Pirzada and Mr. Menon and concede that in this special case a resolution is not an agreement. Even this concession, however, does not carry us far because the purpose of the conference, at the very least, constitutes the framework of an agreement which commits Pakistan without a corresponding commitment from India.

It is reported that the main conference is to be held in about two years. This would mean its assemblage, perhaps, under the awesome spiral of a radioactive sub continental sky caused by the detonation of an Indian nuclear blast. In such ominous circumstances Pakistan would find itself deliberating on a non-proliferation treaty.

Mr. Pirzada has quoted my speech in the General Assembly to justify the resolution. According to him as recently as January, 1965, speaking on the

subject in the General Assembly, I said, "We urge that an international conference should be called at which all the countries of the world, including those at present not members of the United Nations or not represented there, should examine this whole question in detail and devise strict arrangements which would make it impossible for non-nuclear powers to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons."

As a lawyer of sufficient duration. Mr. Pirzada should not find it difficult to set; the fundamental difference between my proposal covering all states of the world and the present restricted resolution. The operative part of my proposal lies in the universality of participation. There is a world of difference between a conference of all states including those which are in a position to prevent proliferation and a Conference confined to those who have no prescription to proliferate.

The crux of the matter is that basically only the nuclear powers are in a position to prevent proliferation. It is the principal responsibility of nuclear powers to arrive at an international agreement on disarmament, including non-proliferation and the eventual destruction of all nuclear weapons. It is for this overriding consideration that my proposal sought to commit all the nuclear powers to an agreement on non-proliferation.

It is so important that it can be repeated that non-proliferation can be achieved effectively only if the existing nuclear powers bind themselves to a treaty to prevent proliferation. Otherwise, nuclear weapons will spread as they have in the past. Nuclear powers cannot on the one hand acclaim non-proliferation in principle and on the other actively assist India and Israel to acquire nuclear capability.

If Pakistan had succeeded in calling for a conference of all states, including all the nuclear powers as proposed by me in 1965, there would have

been cause for genuine satisfaction. If we must use complimentary words, the present exercise can be called a triumph in futility. Short of diplomatic etiquette, the resolution will find acceptance only among states for whom the problem is too remote or non-existent and from those states who want selective proliferation as a part of nuclear monopoly.

Pakistan faces a problem of an extraordinary magnitude. We cannot take any dubious satisfaction from a resolution which does not prevent India from becoming nuclear but which is likely to circumscribe our own freedom of action in this most vital of all fields.

Pakistan will always find it difficult to quantitatively keep pace with India; but qualitatively we have maintained a balance in the past and will have to continue to maintain it in the future for our survival. It is for this reason that as Foreign Minister and Minister-in-charge of Atomic Energy, I warned the nation sometime back that if India acquires nuclear status, Pakistan will have to follow suit even if it entails eating grass.

It will thus be seen that my criticism of the resolution is not opposed to national interest and security. Quite the opposite; it has been made in the interest of the nation and should be welcomed. It is dangerous to take aim with a gun loaded with blank cartridges. There is no contradiction between what I said in January, 1965 and what I say now.

At the appropriate milestone, time, that harsh and impartial spokesman, will open its lips, as undoubtedly it must, to point the finger of accusation.

My Debut in Journalism
The Pakistan Observer, Dacca,
12 January, 1967

I wonder if this can be called a new venture. It is not my first shot at journalism. Some years ago, during my student days, I made my debut in this field, and said "Hello" to this art of communication. I do not aspire to be the Walter Lippmann of Pakistan, although I would feel honored to qualify for membership of the talented fraternity to which he belongs.

Let us begin by saying that the press has an increasingly important role to play in further enlightening an already conscious public opinion and in the evaluation of national and international events which are getting more and more interwoven. In different societies, journalism has taken different shapes. Yet it has some common bonds which stretch from one end of the globe to the other.

In England and Europe, and across the Atlantic in the United States, journalism is of a high standard and has acquired a rare sophistication. Our familiarity with the English language makes it possible for us to draw lessons from Anglo-American journalism. It has influenced us greatly. It has excited our thoughts and given shape to some of our ideas. Because of our links with Western civilization, although we are not familiar with the French language, we are aware of the high standards of French journalism. Newspapers like the "Le Monde" and the "Le Figaro" are well known for their reporting and comments of great vision and depth.

Penetrating analyses of events by eminent Western writers benefit society as a whole and also governments dealing with vital national questions, such as those relating to war and peace, and economic and social development.

In Africa and Asia, by and large, journalism has not yet firmly planted its feet; it is as turbulent and erratic as are the conditions in Asia and Africa.

For want of adequate information, we, in Pakistan, cannot speak with full knowledge about journalism in Latin America but, I dare say, the journalism of the Latins is influenced both by their countries' proximity to the United States as well as by the crucible of rapidly changing events in South America. It is more than likely that it has many common features with our standards for the simple reason that so many of the problems are of a similar nature.

Indeed, the standard and style of journalism is but a reflection of the prevailing realities of each society. Journalism follows and creates trends. It is a pace-setter which cannot remain indifferent to the mood and music of the people. It has to gallop with the flow of events and ride on the tide that disturbs the status quo.

Journalism in our times, more than in the past, is written both in ink and in blood. It has shown courage against overwhelming odds. At times it has also demonstrated meek passivity. Journalism is the prisoner of conditions but it also holds the key to the cell. Many would hold that journalism of high caliber cannot exist without the freedom of the press. The function of the press is not only to record the dry events of the day, which can perhaps be done even more efficaciously by television and radio, but to expose, guide, anticipate and to evaluate.

Journalism, in other words, is not a mere recorder or a post office or a channel of communication. Its functions are infinitely more important. To perform these functions properly, it is necessary to speak out boldly and to declare the truth even if this embarrasses and hurts.

European and Anglo-American journalism has acquired high standards after a very long struggle and its quality is only a reflection of an attained status. But, above all, it can be argued with force and feeling that the high standard reached in those parts have come out of the impetus and stimulation provided by free thought under the constitutional protection of that sanctified expression :freedom of speech. We are not unmindful of the argument that in those societies, on account of technological and cultural advancement, a self-evolved discipline has been imposed on journalism. Many a journalist, if he is not to toy with his conscience, prefers to put away his pen rather than write against his conscience and break the code. Certain things are simply "not done." In addition to a self-imposed code and rules of restraint brought about by maturity, who does not know that powerful economic influences operate to confine the freedom of expression? I am familiar with far too many press briefings of government officials in Europe and in the United States to ignore the hand of government guidance. The official briefings instruct and regulate the printed and spoken word in the news media within the dimensions of public interest and national security, albeit with discretion. There is then no such thing as absolute freedom of the press even in the most advanced and democratic societies.

As much as absolute freedom of the press is injurious to national interest, so also, the suppression of this freedom is even more injurious. There are certain things which can be swept under the rug and there are certain things which just cannot be put under it. If you put a lid on the mounting frustrations and feelings of a people, the environment acquires a terrible odour which spreads far beyond national frontiers. Arguments on freedom of expression, its meaning and its benefits can be endless. Not only political and economic reasons can be advanced but even philosophical submissions are available in abundance to argue one way or the other until "all the cows come home."

Of the many reasons for the excellent quality of Western journalism let us admit that the chief is the freedom of expression. Western journalism, with all its drawbacks, has attained a standard which, on the whole, is to be admired.

We are not entirely unaware of the state of affairs of journalism in Africa and Asia as well as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In many of the countries of these vast regions journalism has made great progress. The United Arab Republic, for instance, has made impressive strides. It is not proper to mention names but it is well known that Hasnain Heykal of Al Ahram, Cairo, has rendered valuable services to journalism. This eminent writer has lit a glowing spark in the realm of ideas and in provoking thought.

The Soviet Union and China stand in a special class. These great nations have produced many celebrated writers. They do not write in a manner which in the West is described as "freedom of expression" and yet their contributions in promoting creative thought are undeniable. The journalists of these nations write with feeling and create a mood which cannot come out of drip-dry journalism. What then is their motivation? In the Western countries, it is the competitive spirit which throws up the best talent. But even with the absence of the competitive system there are countries whose contribution in this field is remarkable. The motivation for journalism in such a system is not the freedom of expression, in the Western sense, but the ideological objectives of the state. In genuinely ideological states, journalists, like all the other citizens in different professions, make their finest creative contribution under the inspiration of their ideologies.

In other words, if journalism is to be productive, if it is to have value for society and if it is to make a wholesome contribution, it must function either under a system of freedom of the press in the Western sense or it must be motivated by the formidable engine of ideology. One or the other condition is essential for the promotion of good journalism. If a state does not permit free expression and is

barren of ideology, its journalism will be equally barren. Like all other forms of life it, too, must suffocate and wither away.

Journalism must be permitted to find its natural level. We are no exception to this process. We have seen our own journalism going through different phases. In the past, there was a free-for-all approach with many unsavoury features which were no more than a reflection of the general conditions in our country.

Like many other things, our journalism over-stretched itself and was put on a leash. At present, journalism in Pakistan is going through a difficult transitory period. Ultimately, it is bound to find its moorings. It has already subjected itself to certain voluntary restraints in addition to those imposed by law. If tomorrow all restraints were to be removed, there is little doubt that a certain amount of self-imposed restriction would continue. This by itself is a sign of maturity.

Our journalism in the English language is at the crossroads. The great names which inspire are not many and their number is dwindling. A few of them have left their profession and found employment in more alluring vocations. Our journalism may have more set-backs in the future but this does not mean that quality cannot pick up again provided the environment is conducive for its development.

Journalism in Urdu and Bengali, and some of the regional languages, has shown marked improvement. This is a happy development. There is, however, room for improvement, specially in the field of selective reporting and in editorials which throw out ideas and try to analyse world and national events. Too much of our press coverage is taken up by down-to-earth reporting. Newspapers and journals are full of cliches. There is more than necessary space given to officialdom and to printing photographs of ceremonies being opened and closed. Too much space is given to sensational news, to texts of routine messages and

to arrivals and departures, not to speak of marriages! Some try to write between the lines but do it with a hatchet. A style has still to emerge, depth has to be found. This is slowly coming under the grinding wheels of evolution, specially in the Urdu and Bengali press.

To promote high standards, among other pre-requisites, the conditions of working journalists call for betterment. The profession has to be respected and, unfortunately, respect in our society seldom comes without status. Once the interaction of all the required forces matures, it will be possible for us to make our distinct contribution in greater measure. We have produced many outstanding writers, some of whom have few rivals in other parts. Hamid Nizami and Faiz Ahmed Faiz, to mention only two, set ablaze a trail of glory. Both these pioneers have made contributions and set styles which require emulation.

The problems facing journalism are multitudinous but to overcome them, it is necessary not only to create proper conditions for working journalists and for journalism but to permit critical self-analysis. I speak from the outside and have no motive to pour out prejudice, and I speak in good faith as a friend of journalists—that valiant band of patriots.

I have picked up my pen only to engage myself usefully and to share some of my thoughts with my countrymen. By birth, I am a zamindar, but so far I have given little time to my hereditary profession. The land is the mother of our state. The produce that comes out of our beautiful fields is our strength. Like journalism, agriculture also has many contradictions. Along with antiquated forms of cultivation, we see today tractors and machines in operation. As in the case of journalism, our most important profession, so to speak, is going through a critical period of transition. Once the transition in agriculture is over, we hope to be a powerful, self-reliant and happy society not only in this basic field but also in others including, of course, journalism.

My education has brought me into the profession of law but like my encounter with agriculture, my engagement with the law has been desultory. I have all the high academic qualifications to give my full time to the great profession of law but for a variety of reasons I have not been able to do it, I respect and value the legal profession but it is not a passion with me. Now I hope to find the time not only for agriculture and for law, but also for journalism. Here again, not in any methodical and regular sense, but only to keep the mind and body active and in good shape. Law is a great profession. In all systems, it must take an exalted place. A society in which law is raw and inarticulate is a society which is barbaric and brutal. Law is a great refinement, its weakness a great curse. The rule of law is the strongest shield of civilization. It is the duty of the citizen and of the state to strengthen this mighty pillar of the social order. Those who seek the protection of the law know its value. Those who keep the law clean are equally aware of its benefits in governing a people with justice. Our country has many able and diligent lawyers. These outstanding men have rendered great services to our new state and they are bound to make greater contributions in the future. Many changes have taken place in the legal system. We are still in the process of evolving an indigenous system. These upheavals of transition are coming into conflict with the old established norms but sooner or later, out of this clash, a proper synthesis will emerge.

Although by birth I am an agriculturist and by education a lawyer, I have had some thing to do with politics. It is politics above all that inspires me and kindles in me the flame of a lasting romance. Politics is a superior science and a fine art. It is the final arbiter of society, the ultimate architect of a just equilibrium. Our country has had to face many political problems but it is in this field alone that an eventual crystallization will render the most valuable service to our people. Politics must be clean. It must not be based on negative considerations and rest on sloganism and on the lure of banditry. Too many people are understandably suspicious of politics. In many ways the politicians have failed badly. Tragically, we have played politics with politics. We have soiled a great an.

No longer will people repose confidence in politicians who exploit their sentiments and abandon principles at the wink of favours.

A new era is emerging in the political life of the nation. The politicians of Pakistan are facing a crucial new test as destiny stands at the dawn of a New Year. A new look and a new style will have to emerge. The old ways will no longer appeal to the people. It is no longer sufficient to be a fluent parliamentarian and an expert in repartee and to know when to make "a point of order", or to heckle and hound. A new all-round approach will have to be found in every facet of politics. The hand must reach the ground, the eye must perceive the sub-surface movements and the ear be able to hear the sound of music in the far distance. Crescendos of "Zindabad" and warm ovations at public meetings are not going to be the final tests of political acumen.

Drawing room intrigue has reached a nauseating limit which the people will not tolerate in the future. The people want a better and more dignified life. If the politician cannot respond to the emerging challenge in the contemporary sense, his guile and his brilliance will be of no avail. It is no longer a question of "make and break" or, as the saying goes in Urdu, "jor tor." It is no longer possible to find solutions to national problems by marching leaders off to jails and in the easy method of terror and repression. Terror and repression have never been the final answers to political problems. On the contrary, such methods have led to greater complications. The administration should not be intimidated nor should the administration intimidate. Criticism must be genuine and solutions should be just and realistic. In a free and independent society, there is no room for bitter personal animosity. The line between government and opposition should not be based on vendetta and abuse, but on a sincere difference in principles.

There is so much in common between law and politics, and between journalism and politics. But politics is such a total subject, that, in order to be a politician, it is not only necessary to be born with the art but to be able to

understand many subjects. A politician must have the sense of timing. He must understand the mood and aspirations of the people. A politician must be a builder, a connoisseur of public moods, and have the ability to give expression to the culture of a free people. He must know how to suffer, knew how to cry for the sufferings of the people and shed tears for their miseries. He must know how to smile when the people are happy. He must know the meaning of pain and pleasure, if he is to go to the heart of the problems and to the hearts of the people. He must understand economic and military matters and be composed and constructive in emergencies. He must know how to operate in broad daylight and be able to walk in utter darkness. And above all, he should have the integrity and the strength to uphold a cause in the face of impossible situations. He must have courage to give courage to his people and to say 'no' to them even when that 'no' is not popular.

Politics is a splendoured thing. It covers much that is written and not written in books. A politician must be patient and he must also dare. At times it is not patience but risk and daring which are required. But the risk and daring must not smack of adventurism because it is fatal to play with the future of a whole people who repose confidence in their leaders. Journalism and politics stand together. A good journalist must have a good knowledge of politics and a good appreciation of political events to be able to evaluate and to analyze.

Politics of an abiding character, like journalism and other creative arts, has an invaluable role to play either in a democracy or in an ideological state. There is no place for politicians in a state which is neither democratic nor ideological. Democratic conditions and the struggle to attain them have given birth to a galaxy of immortal names. Mankind has reached great heights by the force released by democratic ideals. So permanent is the attachment of the individual to democracy that the rights it proclaims have been called inalienable and inherent.

Parallel to this phenomenon, history has seen, especially in the last hundred years, the earth-shaking developments of the ideological movements, whose interpretation is different from that of democracy as it is popularly understood. Mighty movements have been launched by people on the surrender of classical civil liberties. What moves the people to soaring heights in such societies is not the flame of individual liberty but the fires lit by ideology which calls for a long period of sacrifices by individuals for collective justice.

Western institutional democracy has held sway over Asia and been responsible for many salutary developments. It has inspired our people to wage a heroic struggle for national independence. It has influenced our thoughts and actions and provided blue-prints for the future. But with all its admitted virtues, Western institutional democracy is also responsible for considerable confusion and dislocation in Asia and Africa. John Lock and Stuart Mill with all their acknowledged contributions were born neither in Lahore nor in Jakarta. Our leaders who came out of Oxford and Cambridge, and even Sandhurst, were imbued with Western democratic ideals. They grasped the concept and sought to apply it to our conditions. What we really had to do was to begin with a clean slate and evolve a system from the foundation of our conditions instead of applying anything from above.

India has democratic institutions but today India is in shambles. Its democracy is unnatural. Despite all the propaganda and pageantry, India's democracy has failed because democracy is alien to India's philosophy and mentality. Democracy cannot arise out of inequality and intolerance. The philosophy of India arises out of exploitation and domination and defies both democracy and ideology. Neither democracy nor ideology can motivate India's polity.

People have willingly surrendered their inalienable democratic rights only in the pursuit of ideological objectives which promise justice and dignity.

Ideological objectives have to be essentially political in purpose and not based exclusively on economic considerations although economics may be the premier wagon to the engine of politics.

The people must not only know the reasons for which they are called upon to curtail their rights but must be convinced of the bona fides of leaders. People cannot be expected to make a sacrifice of their political rights indefinitely without a sufficient collective purpose. Even an ideological state pledges political freedom after the attainment of the ideological ends. People know the course of history. Each day brings with it greater enlightenment, no longer will people tolerate an abatement of their political rights for arbitrary or narrow ends and for non-national purposes.

Thus, a regime will have the co-operation of its people either in a democracy in which individual rights are protected or in an ideological state, in which civil liberties are suspended until the attainment of the high political objectives of common benefit to the people. No other station stands between the two terminals. The willing co-operation of a people cannot come out of a contamination of systems. It is feasible for an ideological state to rest on a democratic foundation but an admixture of the two systems cannot prevail successfully. It is neither possible to democratise a dictatorship nor to make democracy a dictatorship.

The banner must be clean and proclaim either a democratic or an ideological state and, if the people's support matters and is sought, a third choice cannot be considered for the banner.

My association with politics is rooted in my environment. I come from a politically saturated district in which my family has played a prominent part. Politics was the milk given to me at birth but that was a politics of a different nature. As I have said, old ways must give way to new ones. Situations change

and it is essential that the methods and the ways to meet them should change also. If it had not been for the environment in which I was born and brought up, and if it was not for the opportunity which catapulted me into a high political office of the country, at the young age of thirty, I wonder what profession I would have chosen?

Left to myself, and if the compulsions of events and environment had not had such a decisive say, I may have gone into architecture. I have always been greatly interested in architecture. It is a subject which has engaged my attention even when I have been in the whirlwind of politics. I remember that when as a young boy of about 6 or 7, I first visited Moenjodaro, I was completely enchanted by that place. I went there again and again and spent many hours admiring the precision and the symmetry of the architectural feats of the builders of that civilisation thousands of years ago. It had a spell-binding effect on me and ever since those unforgettable days, with my first encounter in the field of engineering and architecture, I have taken a growing and abiding interest in that subject. Later, in my salad days, when I saw the marvel of the Taj Mahal, I pledged an eternal love for the sublime art of architecture. I recall the fight within me when, as a university student, I spent many hours listening to lectures on architecture instead of on my own subject. My roommate, who was a Parsi friend from school days, was a student of architecture and I learnt a great deal about it from him.

I was thrilled when I was called upon to be the Minister in charge of Islamabad. Unfortunately, my association with Islamabad was too brief. It was at a party in honor of the Iranian and Turkish Heads of State in the Iranian Embassy at Karachi when I suggested to the President that we must immediately give a name to the new capital. I made this suggestion because I felt that without a name the capital would remain intangible until its completion. We thought of many names, and I suggested 'Markazabad' but eventually it was decided to call it 'Islamabad'. The name is not all that important but it was essential to give the capital a name to concretize it even before a single brick was laid. The site of the

new capital is breath-taking in its beauty. It has an excellent landscape but unfortunately it is being built hurriedly and hideously. The way it is being built has caused me great torment. The same fate has befallen some of the lesser projects like the K.D.A, schemes in Karachi. Clifton is getting the ugly look of a P.E.C.H. Society. We seem to be enemies of open spaces. We want to build hideous edifices on any vacant plot.

What I would like to submit is that there is a direct connection between architecture and politics. The architect, like the politician, must take the environment into account. He must have a comprehension of time and space. He must know the climate and the soil and build accordingly. He must provide not only for the present but also for the future. His building must be acceptable to the occupants' taste as well as to those who see it from outside. It must be so built as to accommodate comfortably but not wastefully. It must provide for facilities not only for the occupants and the visitors but also those who would inherit it. Like politics, architecture must have character and style and it must be done according to the budget and the means of the occupant. It calls for an understanding of human nature. It calls for a specialized temperament and above all, it must be according to a plan. There can be no architecture without a plan, as there can be no politics without a plan. The architect, like the politician, must construct and like the politician he must set beautiful and realistic standards.

After all then, it seems that all roads lead to politics as they led to Rome. If there is a similarity between architecture and politics, and according to me there is a striking similarity, my interest in architecture arises out of my interest in politics. As I have seen the two meet. I feel my knowledge of architecture like that of law, has been of good use to me in politics

I have rambled from place to place and written candidly. Let us welcome the sound of bells of another year which is likely to be more exciting than the one that has ended. Time and with it events are moving faster and faster. The New

Year has introduced a new situation which they say may merge the old and the new. No heaven came down to earth with E.B.D.O, and no hell is likely to descend with, its end. But as a new page is being turned in an old book, let us end on a hopeful note.

The Government not so long ago released a number of leaders without any damage to its authority. There would be words of praise if the leaders of East Pakistan are set free to join the-many others who, after eight long years, are back in the political arena.

I have written for fun and friends and cannot say if it will be possible to write regularly, or if I will be able to write again after this initial debut. I do not know whether this meandering approach will have any appeal for the readers. Let us see how it goes. If what I have written is uninteresting, I only have to throw up my hands and say that this was not only my first "Hello" to journalism but also my farewell.

Pakistan's Isolation

Speech at Inter-Collegiate Students" Body Meeting, Lahore, February 4, 1967

Khwaja Shahabuddin's speech on "Pakistan-Soviet Relations" at the Press Club of Dacca on the 15th of this month has caused me considerable amusement. The controversial and sensitive trail covered by this nation in the wake of Tashkent is a year in length and requires no startling revelations. Although the Government has been more conspicuous in covering the footprints left behind in the sands of the capital of Uzbekistan, the object of the venerable Information Minister's pathetically belated outburst is as clear as crystal.

The ring is being tightened round me. Senile and discarded politicians of my district are seeking to ingratiate themselves with the Government by unleashing against me vicious falsehoods which I shall separately answer at the district level. People of my district and my friends are facing a crescendo of difficulties. This mounting wave of harassment is not going to daunt me. I shall continue to face it with greater fortitude as I have done no wrong to my people. Khwaja Shahabuddin's statement is only another link in the chain of current events pitched in my direction.

For the present I think it appropriate to ignore the more mundane mischief and attend to questions of national importance. The Information Minister's speech at Dacca introduces a new element which has distinct national and international overtones. If Government, in its superior wisdom, has chosen to ignore the internal and external implications including the melancholy multitude of existing crises, and is anxious to rip open the carcass, I shall be the first to enter the field and Insha Allah the last to leave it.

If the Information Minister has at long last donned the armour of a Mark Antony and is in search of a Brutus, he will not find him in me as I have slabbled no Caesar. But if my role at Tashkent is to be brought to the altar, I will welcome it with open arms. On the Government's own choosing, let us, therefore, peep into Pandora's Box as a prelude to opening it.

The topic of Khwaja Shahabuddin's speech at the Press Club of Dacca was 'Pakistan-Soviet Relations', but it appears that the Information Minister was more obsessed by my role at Tashkent. Not an insignificant portion of his speech is devoted to a diabolical distortion of my participation at the Tashkent conference. Khwaja Shahabuddin entrenched and protected by the invincible shield of authority, has the freedom to break with impunity the norms of veracity applicable to ordinary mortals. He has the liberty to ravage the rules of propriety. The Information Minister's deplorable tirade, bad naturally been given extravagant prominence by that section of the Press which is no longer in a position to dance to the music of any other orchestra. The whole statement is full of pathos and is lamentable in purpose and taste.

Within the confines or the limitations applicable to ordinary citizens, I will, in the name of truth, endeavour to put forward my version. This must, however, be preceded by preambular remarks on Pakistan-Soviet relations as Mr. Shahabuddin has sought to directly link my role at Tashkent and my attitude to the Declaration to the whole gamut of Pakistan-Soviet relations. It thus becomes my responsibility to shed some light on this subject. Not in vainglory but because the Information Minister has left me with no choice.

Since authorship is a presumptuous word in a presidential system, let me declare meekly that I have held a pioneering position in the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and my country. The breakthrough in Pakistan-Soviet Union relations was made when as Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, I visited Moscow in December, 1960, to conclude an oil

agreement with that country. This visit was undertaken in the shadow of the U-2 incident and during a period when Pakistan-Soviet relations had fallen into a tragic abyss. Those in Government at that time know, better than Khwaja Shahabuddin, the insuperable hurdles I had to surmount to write this first purposeful page in the chapter of Pakistan-Soviet relations.

The Information Minister has attached the highest importance to 1965. If that year is of primordial importance in Pakistan-Soviet relations, it must not escape the attention of the Information Minister that in that very year I made three separate visits to the Soviet Union and in January, 1965, held crucial discussions with Soviet leaders on the future course of Pakistan-Soviet relations. Actually, much before all these developments, as Commerce Minister, I had forcefully argued, at the very first re-evaluation of foreign policy made by the Martial Law government in 1958, on the need to improve relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and with nations of Asia and Africa. It has taken Mr. Shahabuddin nine long years to realize that our friendship with the East is not incompatible with our cordial relations with the West. This has caused me sufficient satisfaction.

What astonishes me, however, is the irresponsible and reckless tone of the Information Minister. If Khwaja Shahabuddin wants to take a perverse view of fairy tales, the people of Pakistan are capable of making an objective evaluation of my role in the development of Pakistan-Soviet relations. But I still fail to understand how my resistance to India's hostility and aggression on Pakistan and its immoral usurpation of Jammu and Kashmir can be construed as an effort to sour Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union.

I now come to the macabre part of Mr. Shahabuddin's speech which defies description in its assault on propriety. There appear to be three ways of dealing with the thin fabric which the Information Minister has woven with half-truths and untruth:

- a. To continue to maintain my silence and ignore this poisonous provocation which is bound to crumble in the parchment of history;
- b. To take the Biblical attitude of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and answer quotation for quotation and document for document;
- c. To accept Khwaja Shahabuddin's challenge and to face him and or any of his colleagues assisted by their legion of advisers on any platform with the totality of material relevant to the Tashkent Declaration.

As the Information Minister's speech mentions "evidence" and speaks of "legal force" it would seem appropriate to take the final alternative for the determination of the true verdict. If this approach is to be chosen, issues would require to be framed and the following, among others, would be of relevance:

- a. My assessment and evaluation of the Soviet invitation for a conference at Tashkent;
- b. My role at Tashkent, my expressed views on the most important issues, particularly on India's efforts to wrench out a "no war" declaration on Jammu and Kashmir and if I were the principal negotiator;
- c. Discussion with the Indian delegation in the first and only Ministerial level meeting held between the delegations of Pakistan and India at Tashkent;
- d. My comments to the Soviet Foreign Minister when the draft of the declaration was delivered to me;
- e. The instructions I gave to Pakistan's High Commissioner in India when I asked him to return the draft of the Declaration to the Indian delegation;
- f. The number of meetings held between the leaders of the delegations without the assistance of advisers;
- g. Evidence on the views exchanged at these meetings;
- h. The discussions at the more important meetings between Pakistan and Soviet delegations;

i. If the Information Minister's contention that those delegates who disagreed with the Government should have issued public statements after the conference is a valid contention;

j. What led to my departure from the Cabinet? Should I really have left after Tashkent and who could have benefited from such an action? Is it not national interest that should form the main consideration?

These are only some of the issues which require to be framed for a scientific analysis of events beginning from the cease-fire to the Tashkent Declaration and its aftermath. Unfortunately, Khwaja Shahabuddin has taken a superficial attitude on a question which strikes at the heart of history. Perhaps, he has done this in ignorance as throughout the conference he stood on the sidelines and was not really involved in the day-to-day evolution of events. So much so that on one occasion I was constrained to criticise him for remaining silent even on issues affecting his province on such matters as evictions and the waters problem. His Information Secretary, who maintains a copious diary, made a note of these remarks of mine.

The Information Minister has chosen to repeat what he claims to be my exact words. He has spoken the most atrocious lie by saying that he was all the time in "close touch" with me at Tashkent. Khwaja Shahabuddin should stop telling lies if he wants me to stop saying the truth. If these are to be the rules of the game, and if all the gladiators are to enter the arena, I should be permitted to quote the prominent personalities who attended the Tashkent conference not only from Pakistan but from the Soviet Union and India as well. I fail to understand how Khwaja Shahabuddin has - become the tape recorder of the conference when he was incapacitated and stretched out in bed with pneumonia or bronchitis which kept him behind in Tashkent when the rest of us left for Pakistan.

The Information Minister has said: "It may be said that my evidence in this matter has no legal force or that I may have formed a personal impression of Mr. Bhutto's reaction which was different from his real feelings. If documentary evidence is of relevance and we are in search of legal pronouncements, it would become unavoidable for the Government to place before the people of Pakistan each and every document pertinent to the determination of truth." I say let all the cards be placed on the table and let the nation determine. The nation will come to a finding on my attitude: "glum" or otherwise, depressed or jubilant, cross-legged or clapping only when the curtain is lifted and the drama brought to the screen.

Khwaja Shahabuddin has had to admit and contradict himself when he said that I did not join the dapping when the Declaration was being signed and also that I appeared "glum" when the cameras were facing me. Mr. Minister for Information, I looked glum and depressed not because I was suffering from pneumonia or bronchitis. Mr. Shahabuddin has said that the agitation in Lahore and in certain parts of West Pakistan influenced my judgement. This is an unkind cut and not magnanimous. A person who had gone through the critical period of the war and interpreted the sublimest sentiments of his people could never have been unmindful of the feelings of his nation. How could I have spoken from my heart to fight for a thousand years if my people were in a mood to surrender?

Mr. Shahabuddin's remarks are most ungracious when he says that I was influenced by the wrath of the people against the Tashkent Declaration and on that account I tergiversated. If that were so, why was I glum and depressed at Tashkent, and why did I not join in the clapping, to use Khwaja Shahabuddin's own word? Khwaja Shahabuddin has asked why I did not resign at Tashkent if "my advice was ignored or if I was unhappy with the results." In asking this question

Mr. Shahabuddin seems to have forgotten that that was a time when only recently the Pakistan nation had concluded a heroic struggle against aggression and was passing through its most difficult and delicate test. In my judgement it would have been a catastrophe if I had taken a personal approach at the height of a national crisis and that also on the soil of a foreign country.

Khwaja Shahabuddin, apparently no longer a genuine respecter of truth, has stated that I continued in Government for nearly six months or more after the Tashkent Declaration to parade as a leader and hero of the youth. I would consider it the greatest privilege and honour to be the leader of the youth, and to set a new pattern with their support, but I have never sought to be a hero which, in a presidential system, is an act of suicide. I remained in Government because I wanted to put ointment on national wounds before making my departure to oblivion. I was not prepared to make convenient adjustments on fundamental issues and I knew that I had to go. Mr. Shahabuddin would do well to ponder why I chose this path while he chose to stay.

Whether we like it or not Tashkent has left an unreadable mark on the face of Pakistan. The Declaration is germane to the future and is chained hand and foot, body and soul, to the September conflict. In the highest national interest I have thus far refrained from uttering a word on this delicate subject from the day I left office. I am now in a more independent position to speak on the subject. If this is one of the purposes of the Information Minister's statement, I am prepared to debate the issue threadbare with Khwaja Shahabuddin or any other Minister of Government. Let them all come together assisted by their entire paraphernalia. I will stand alone. Let the nation scrutinise and adjudicate.

Let then there be a full-fledged debate on the basis of equality without loaded dice. Lift the state of emergency and other legal impediments for the exposure of truth. Not only must the laws be made to stand aside for Government but also for me. Section 144 should be removed forthwith for the

people to congregate and to hear each side throughout the length and breadth of the country and the discussions reported faithfully and fully in the Press and on Radio and Television. Lift the curtain of secrecy and let the light shine for the public to see more. Anything short of the conditions that expose the truth would be a travesty of the exercise. We are reckoning with the future of a hundred million people.

Mr. Minister for Information, either enter the field with your minions and face this humble individual with a relative equality of opportunity or stop playing marbles and pointing pierceless darts at ordinary citizens, circumscribed badly by a pyramid of punitive laws and by the high and oppressive wall of Section 144 and by a large portion of the Press which alas, has become the Marie Walewska of your Information Ministry.

On Accusations by the Ayub Regime

Address to Young Lawyers' Circle

Lahore, February 25, 1967

I am grateful to the Young Lawyers' Circle for the honour they have conferred on me by inviting me to address them this evening. The day before yesterday I addressed a similar function of young students here in this hotel, in this place and in this very room. This indicates stability!

We all want political stability and want to contribute towards it. What exactly is meant by political stability? Stability in a political sense is an important term. It means stability in policy, a particular point of view which is tested and whose results are known. What the nation and the people need now is a permanence in policy, a permanence in ideology and a permanence in approach which cannot be found in elusiveness. It would not be a permanence in approach if we want a unitary government and end up with a federal or quasi-federal type.

All of us would welcome stability in principle, ideology and a singleness in national purpose; not in perpetuation of personalities but of policies. And our policies should be put to the people. They should be taken into confidence and then the people will follow them. There will be a sense of direction; there will be a motivation; there will be a political framework which has the approval of the people ensuring their future, their economic well-being, and the education of their children.

I have been accused of turning somersaults and singing the song of democracy. A gentleman has accused me of being undemocratic. For eight years, I was a member of the Government and am now accused of being undemocratic. Thus by inference they are accusing the Government of being undemocratic. I have not yet spoken about democracy here.

After all, you must have a principle, a system, either democratic or authoritarian, but from the time of Plato no one has been able to find a combination of both. You cannot dictatorialise democracy or democratise dictatorship within a democracy or a dictatorship.

If the system is to be authoritarian, it must be for a national purpose. It must be put to the people and if the people believe in the objectives, they will sacrifice their liberty. If tomorrow we go to the people of Pakistan and ask them to accept dictatorship for the liberation of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, they may consider making this sacrifice. In any case the people will have to be taken into confidence. These are elementary matters and there can be no confusion about them. You have to run the system properly. There can be no half-way house. There was a revolution in Turkey and as the acting Foreign Minister I was asked to comment on it. I said Menderes wanted to dictatorialise democracy.

When we had Martial Law I said there should be a parliament. You cannot run a policy without party or parliament. It is through the party that you can mobilise public opinion and in all systems the party is essential. If we did have Martial Law, there were certain aims and objects. Change is inevitable in policy. Events moved. Time changed. Martial Law was replaced by a Constitution. There was no contradiction. It has been said by a gentleman that I have Fascist tendencies. I ask this gentleman what tendencies has he got? Sometimes I am accused of being a communist and there is another gentleman who swears by everything under the sun that I am a card-carrying communist. I swear by God, I am nothing but a Pakistani. If it becomes necessary to defend the national interests, we have to take certain positions uncompromisingly. These are not normal times nor normal circumstances. You can expect moderate leadership for normal times. These are extreme times and extreme and difficult times are to be met by extreme leadership. Application of moderate leadership in extreme times does not pay. There are great upheavals, old concepts are exploding and new aspirations taking place. It is only in a period of change that we move with the

times. The status quo will only produce surrender and subjugation and Asia cannot be an exception to it. In 1848, there was a revolution in Europe and every-body now wants a revolution in Asia and Africa. You will find a common pattern in Europe during 1848. National leaders were thrown out and they are now being thrown out and being replaced in this part of the world. Mighty imperialistic forces are operating against nationalism but nationalism will gain ascendancy. Just as in France, where revolution after revolution took place, so it will be in Asia. It is only a setback that arouses national consciousness. Sacrifices will have to be made. If you choose a wrong path there will be an upheaval. Ideas are natural. Ideas germinate. I will take the example of a non-controversial country. There were Lumbumba and Tshombe but it is only Lumbumba who is remembered. Only good ideas and good deeds remain behind. Everything else goes.

Every country has to pass through many crises irrespective of odds but the people will surmount the crises, no matter how great the challenge.

I have been accused of imbalancing the foreign policy. I am accused of taking the country too far towards China and thus unbalancing the foreign policy and bringing about a deterioration in Pakistan-USA relations. In fact, from the time Pakistan became a member of SEATO, CENTO and the bilateral treaty with the United States and upto 1962, our foreign policy was unbalanced as it had only one dimension. We had no relations with USSR and China. The pendulum was made to come to the middle. In reality it was coming to the centre and not imbalancing the foreign policy. Another gentleman has accused me of having ignored the United States. The fact was that before the Sino-Indian conflict we forgot the USSR and China and did not realise our geographical position. It was after the Sino-Indian conflict that the situation changed and the USA shifted its policy. It is in defence of Pakistan's national interest that I have brought about this balance. If it is a crime, I am proud of it. The world keeps on changing. USA and USSR now have reached an era of understanding. They have signed a test

ban treaty. Barriers between East Europe and West Europe are gradually disappearing. The Berlin Wall will remain of academic value and France is challenging the United States on NATO. If great powers can make accommodation then there is no reason why there should be no accommodation reached here in the national interest. Even the Vietnam war cannot go on. It is bound to come to an end. And after Vietnam, USA will make a reappraisal and then we will have to make a readjustment. The period of readjustment is always a period of test. We will have to go through a difficult time of upheaval. Even Nehru in his lifetime was very critical of USA's conditions on aid. Now everything is forgotten. India is on good terms with the United States. There is no such thing as permanent enemies or permanent friends.

Difficult times of upheaval are a challenge to the leadership. They should mobilise public opinion. Our power is the power of the people. We should take them into confidence, especially when we are challenged and pitched against big powers. Then we can go to the people asking them for sacrifices. There was famine in Nehru's time. He went to the people and asked for their co-operation but he did not accept terms against India's national interest. Similar conditions were being imposed on the supply of wheat to UAR but Nasser refused to accept those conditions.

When the World Bank Consortium postponed the aid we took the people into confidence. The matter was taken to the National Assembly. Then they came to us saying it was only a question of Congressional authorisation. Now they are asking for joint ventures between India and Pakistan on the plea that they cannot give separate aid. Perhaps, this maybe considered or taken into account. But I say it is wrong and preposterous. We can have joint ventures with Iran, Turkey or Indonesia, but not with a country that has usurped other people's territory. We cannot accept joint ventures with such a country. These problems have to be faced with unity and a positive and constructive approach. You have to be firm in dealing with your opponents and show a spirit of accommodation while dealing

with your own people. You want to be pragmatic with the people and not show-accommodation. Internally you are intolerant and firm but externally you are not. I will not like to complicate national problems as we are going through a terrible and difficult period. It is too bad if I am not understood. What is at stake is very grave.

Then there is a courtier from Karachi who asks me how to deal with the Indian menace. I have spoken many a time in the country, at the United Nations and in Delhi but this gentleman does not know my attitude towards India. Events are moving fast. India has many problems and little sense of direction. It is because India has perpetuated injustice and defied the laws of morality, but God will do justice. We cannot be intimidated in negotiations that we have three tanks and they have twenty tanks. We must remember that India is in a dilemma. Her problems are not capable of solution while our problems are with proper leadership. We can play a heroic and honourable role but this cannot be by surrendering the Pakistan ideology but by upholding vigorously the ideals of Quaid-i-Azam and the policy of confrontation with India. Confrontation leads to vigilance, unity and unleashes great energy, co-operation and enthusiasm. We cannot settle our issues with India on the master and servant, or an aggressor and aggressed, basis.

We have to be prepared for a long struggle and I tell you that you have a long and arduous way to go. There is no alternative. If we yield to the demands of India, the demands will keep multiplying.

I am asked why I went to lunch at the Indian High Commission. If I abuse India and still they invite me to their functions, who is dishonoured, I or India, that despite my abuses they invite me? Did I call Nehru my elder brother? I have told India several times to vacate aggression. Going to the enemy camp and telling them of their injustices is not an easy thing.

I have never claimed any credit or any honour for the authorship of the foreign policy. Why is the Government so apologetic about it?

It follows that there is no consistency in the charges against me. Some say I did not initiate Pakistan's relations with China; that relations with China were already there. And yet some say that I am responsible for the deterioration in US-Pakistan relations. Instead of making these charges the Government should rather attend to problems, more urgent national problems and leave me in peace. I am after all a small "wadera" who can be easily tackled by a district magistrate or a sub-inspector. What was the necessity of the Information Minister coming out after a year with a statement on Tashkent, a year after the event, as if he had seen some vision in the night? Why do they add tension to tension? Mobilise your energies to attend to urgent problems of inflation, food and rising prices. Who are we? We are small people and insignificant mortals.

If I wanted, I could have gone abroad or I could have taken some ambassadorship but I want to do my duty to my people. I want to serve my people and be with my people and to express my views on national problems.

Starting with a Clean Slate
Address to the Muzaffargarh Bar Association,
January 17, 1968

I am very happy to make my acquaintance with members of this bar association. I naturally have great respect for them not only because I come from the profession, but because I have admiration for this profession, and I do not consider it to be one of trouble-makers as some people think. The legal profession is an honourable profession. It embodies the progress of man and respect for human rights, for the rights of society. Society would be in chaos and confusion but for its laws and for those who interpret the rights of its members. So for me it is an honour to be here and that is why I would like to talk to you in a particular context.

First of all you may ask me why under the present circumstances have I embarked on the formation of a new party. Some may say there already are enough parties, so why should I add one more party? I must tell you that I gave very careful thought and consideration to this situation. I had discussions with members and leaders of all existing parties without prejudice. I have the highest regard for them. I think you will notice that, in the course of my speeches, I have not been critical of the other parties or political personalities. They had discussions with me and some of them very kindly invited me to join their organisations, and I would have certainly considered joining one of them had it been in the national interest.

Existing realities are such that I shall have to go into details. You may think this is being critical and that I am contradicting myself, when, on the one hand, I say that I do not talk disparagingly about other parties and personalities and, on the other, I go into a critical examination of the parties. This is not so. The events of the country are no secret from you. You are aware of them. I think you know that there are certain difficulties in the Council Muslim League. They

have their differences over elections. They have their personality clashes and they have not really got going since the last elections and even now they have these internal tensions at the highest level. I need not mention these leaders by name. I think, you are aware of them if you follow the proceedings of these parties and particularly the outcome of their elections and the action they took against certain members whom they had elected.

The need today is speed, in the sense of action. I, have used the term progressive. Also. I have used the term revolutionary in its ordinary sense. I use it constitutionally. You have to be dynamic, you have to forge ahead, to break many barriers, to struggle hard and move fast and not care about the consequences. The parties of yesterday, tied to old traditions and old ways, seem to be incapable of this. Much time has been lost, because time, like the tides of the sea, waits for no one. So from that point of view also, there were these difficulties in conservative parties. That is one reason why they have not been able to meet the challenge of the present times. They find the task very difficult.

As far as the progressive parties are concerned, and particularly the National Awami Party, that is also a divided party. We have not to think in the terms of interpretations of a certain political philosophy from the point of view of what other countries think. We have to seek a Pakistani interpretation. We cannot give it an interpretation which is inspired from other quarters. We should have a progressive party, which has a programme relevant to conditions in our own country, which has its own philosophy rather than look in one direction or look in another direction. So there are these difficulties as far as the existing progressive parties are concerned. Time has also shown that they will not be able to unite on fundamentals.

Our task is to bring about a general understanding between all the parties of the left and of the right. The Pakistan People's Party can form a great bridge,

because we have come with a clean slate. We have not come with any past notions; we have not come with any past prejudices; we have no personality clashes; we have not done anyone down; nobody has done us down. We are all in the field with an open mind. We are wedded to certain basic principles. We have said that Islam is our faith and for Islam we will give our lives. It is our religion, it is the basis of Pakistan. There is no controversy on that and if any party were not to make Islam as the main pillar of its ideology, then that party would not be a Pakistani party. It would be an alien party. That goes without saying.

But, at the same time, we believe that we should not start controversies or go into academic discussions, because, after all, in the modern context, if Quaid-i-Azam, who was the founder of this state, believed that Islam and socialism are compatible; and if Iqbal, who was a philosopher, patible, then we should, without entering into an academic controversy, follow these great leaders. We believe that the country must have a socialist economy because for 20 years we have seen only loot and plunder.

The present system is not Islamic. How can they say that Islam and socialism are not compatible? What are they doing? This highway robbery, that is taking place in the name of capitalism, is a kind of capitalism which does not even exist in the United States of America. When the people are getting really more and more miserable, when the living conditions of the masses are deteriorating, how can this system have the sanction of Islam? Go into the interior and see how human beings live. They have no future, their children have no future. They live in disease, they exist in disease and they die in disease. They see no bright future ahead. For them there is only darkness. This is not a system of free enterprise. How is Pakistan developing? Developing towards what? What is the criterion? Are the people happy? Are the people satisfied? Are the basic necessities of life within the reach of the people? Are they able to

clothe themselves? Are they able to adequately get treatment, if they fall ill? Have they got some insurance? Have they got some security?

I am not preaching class hatred. This is not class hatred. We have to tackle basic anomalies and no basic anomaly can be tackled without the application of the principles of scientific socialism. Why do we have all these tensions? Why do we have all these difficulties? Wherever I go, I find that people are unhappy.

If I go to Sindh, I find the people unhappy. In Karachi also I find the people unhappy. If I go to the Punjab, I see unhappiness. In the Frontier also the people are unhappy. Also in Baluchistan. In East Pakistan too, the people are unhappy. They are all unhappy because they are living under a system of exploitation. You remove the exploitation and you remove the unhappiness, you remove the tension. It is not that the Sindhi is exploiting the Punjabi, or the Punjabi is exploiting the Sindhi or the West Pakistani is exploiting the East Pakistani. What is wrong is the system, the system of exploitation and that is the difficulty. Change this system and put an end to exploitation. This can only be done by socialism. That is why our party stands for socialism.

We believe that the best articulation of socialism and our culture and of our ideology and our beliefs can be done by a free expression of our people's will. That can only come through democracy. That is why democracy is our polity.

Today, we have neither democracy nor dictatorship. This system is a hash of both. In the world of today, you require full measures, you require complete measures, you require reforms where you have to take extreme steps. This is a government of half measures. It is half democratic, half dictatorial. It has half a war with India, half a friendship with China, and it is resisting America by half. Everything it does is by half.

We need a vigorous, dynamic, dedicated, sincere leadership and we require an ideological programme, an economic programme, a political programme. For 20 years Pakistan has just dawdled along. Our opponents say we use slogans. But who are the slogan-mongers? We are not slogan-mongers. They are the slogan-mongers. For the last 20 years we have been hearing nothing but slogans. You read the newspapers and they are full of slogans. You see television, it is full of propaganda. Propaganda has become the food of the people. If we are short of food, if we are short of wheat, we have more propaganda and if anything is wrong with the country, you ask a Basic Democrat and he will say everything is right with the country. So, all is well with the world.

Basic Democrats are the Brahmins of this country. This country does not accept Brahmins. We do not say that there should not be a system of Basic Democracies, but it should be for local self-government, for self-help and not as an electoral college. As an electoral college it leads to corruption, it leads to malpractices. That is why corruption in Pakistan today has become a major industry. Wherever you go there is corruption. You cannot take a step without facing corruption. Where is the security? You are from a backward area. I am from a backward area. The administration has virtually broken down. There is no such thing as an automatic process of law and order and its implementation. Confusion has been added to con-fusion. The cost of living is going up. It is going beyond the reach of the people. The economic situation is deteriorating. The aim of this Government, the philosophy of this Government was economic development. We were supposed to be a second Japan. I do not see where this second Japan is. I know, some industrialists have become richer, more prosperous, but this kind of capitalism does not exist, as I said, anywhere in the West.

The economic situation is connected with the international economic situation. You are aware of the economic situation internationally. There has been devaluation of the pound sterling. There are economic difficulties in the

United Kingdom. There are economic difficulties in the United States. The United States is waging a barbaric war in Vietnam, a most cruel and deplorable war against the people of Vietnam, where it is spending about 35 billion dollars a year, that is, I think, about four to five times our whole five-year Plan. There is a great drain on the gold resources. All these factors are to be taken into account in seeing what the future of the country is going to be. If an international economic crisis follows, what is going to be the position in Pakistan? We will be in even greater difficulty.

That is why it is necessary for us to mobilise our own resources, to bring about unity on the basis of unity, on the basis of principles, on the basis of established and acceptable norms, over which there is no controversy. Let us settle the fundamentals and let there be unity of approach on the basis of fundamentals. We want to give a constitutional articulation to our views. We do not want to add to the confusion. We do not want to create difficulties for our own country. This is your country, and my country, and this is where we have to live and die. Our children have to live and die here, so we are fully determined to see that our country progresses. And for this we are called names, we are called "disruptionists." How many have ever heard of my views when the papers do not report them? Now you have heard me. I am being cautious when I say that I will speak in English, because I do not want to give the impression that we are discussing certain matters in an emotional way. We are not raising slogans. Where is the disruption? I have not yet spoken about the war. I have not yet spoken about Tashkent, I have not made any personal attacks on anyone. This is not because I am frightened. God forbid, that I should be. Under no circumstances will I be afraid to uphold the cause of my people, which is a noble and a great cause, but it is out of national considerations, for the future of my country that shall be discreet.

As far as developments are concerned, there are so many considerations. The Government does not know where it is going. It keeps shifting stands. One

day they want good relations with India. They are determined to have good relations with India and on the next day they accuse India of conspiracies and of trying to dismember Pakistan. Is this the revolution? Is it not known to us what India's attitude towards Pakistan is? We all know what has been India's attitude from the beginning, and nobody has to discover for us that India wants the dismemberment of Pakistan. It is those who are not able to understand the Indian mentality, those who are pressurised from outside to come to certain terms and settlements, who are confused. Terms and settlements must be objective. They cannot be imposed.

Politics is an objective science. It is like mathematics. It does not move whimsically. It does not move according to the wishes of a dictator, or according to the wishes of certain people. It has its own laws and if you examine the law you will find there are certain basic factors for whose attainment you have to struggle. They do not come by subjective wishes and desire. You have read about Agartala. Two days before I wrote a letter to the Foreign Secretary telling him that the Government was following a policy which was only going to encourage India to become more determined to dismember Pakistan. I wrote that we were retreating. We must always have the initiative in our hands. We must not fall back, because the moment we do this we shall have to keep falling back. Pressure is both a worm and a monster. If you stand up to it, it is a worm: if you fall back, it becomes a monster. That is why in politics it is so important to keep the initiative. With God's grace and with your blessings, for some time we had the initiative, but now the initiative is again slipping from our hands and, therefore, confusion and difficulties are arising. We need internal unity. We need internal strength. Unity does not come for the asking. You cannot beat and exploit the people and then ask them to unite, because they must have a stake in uniting. People must know what unity means. People must know what unity is going to bring. There must be some objective. There must be a purpose. If you ask the people to make sacrifices, then the people will make sacrifices provided they know for what purpose they are being asked to make sacrifices. If

internationally you are making your position flexible, by saying one day it is "self-determination", the next day "honourable and equitable peace," the third day "meaningful," the fourth day "any settlement" that will bring India and Pakistan together, the people cannot be with you. The people will get confused. For what end are they going to make sacrifices? Where is the ideology? Where is the purpose? Where are the values for which people will say that they are prepared to sacrifice their lives. The Government brings about an abstract situation. It creates a vacuum, it creates a void and then demands by ordinances that the people should take a leap in the dark. That is a tall order.

There are also the internal factors. For what should the people unite? For greater hunger? For greater despondency? For greater lawlessness? For greater corruption? For what is the Government asking the people to unite internally also? Is it going to tell them what the programme, the objective is? What assurance is being given to them that their self-respect will be restored; that individual liberties will be protected; that police excesses would not be permitted; that bureaucratic control will not come in the way of the attainment of their rights; that they will get better salaries; that they will get better wages? We do not see anything like that. Are they being told that because World Bank teams are praising Pakistan's absorption capacity, the people's problems have become more digestible?

On these terms you cannot inspire a people. Our people are among the greatest, and finest human material. That is the basis on which I proceeded to form Pakistan's foreign policy. You cannot come across better human material than the people of Pakistan. They are your greatest weapon. They are more powerful than the atom bomb, if you mobilise them, if you put them together, if you honour them. But this is not the way to honour them, to call the people names and to abuse them. That is not the way to go about the formation of national unity, or national policy; by calling people names, going about on a

negative basis. It can be done positively in the higher interests of the whole society.

It is important that we build up a cadre of public leaders; sincere honest, able, dedicated and hard working. They should command respect whether they are in Government or outside. If leadership is to be best-owed by the Government, then respect for this vital political institution will never develop. Then leadership will definitely fall into unworthy hands, into the hands of people who are willing only to think of their own welfare, about their big bank balances abroad, about the jobs that they will enjoy if they please foreign powers. On that basis what is going to be the future of Pakistan? That is why it is essential for us to unite. That is why it is essential for us to get together, for the interest of our country for the future of our country.

I can tell you that the road is a very difficult one. It is a very hard one. I know what it means because I have gone through the difficulties, but I am prepared to go through more difficulties. But we shall not succumb, we shall not surrender in the interest of the people of Pakistan. It is our moral responsibility. It is our responsibility to the people of this country. So there is no point in calling us names. There is no point in attacking us unnecessarily. The ruling party can put forward its record. After all in ten years, let us see what your achievements are. You will have to carry your past on your backs. If that was not so. Chiang Kai Shek should be still sitting in Peking and not in Taiwan. People want to know what is good for them today what is good for them tomorrow not what you did yesterday, if at all you did anything yesterday.

Time moves on. It is a continuous process. You cannot think in terms of your past dividends. Of course everything is nowadays considered in terms of money. All values have become money values. The only important thing is what you put in the bank; what you get out of the bank; and what is the worth of your property; and all in terms of money. In whatever direction you turn money has

become the base. We do not want more confusion; we do not want more difficulties; but we want to stop the rot, we want to stop demoralization.

It is said that I am misleading the youth of Pakistan, that I am misleading the student community. In what way have I ever told the student community that they should become negative or that they should become destructive? Whenever I have addressed the student community, I have always tried to take a constructive approach. I have always given them advice which came from my heart because this is the new generation of Pakistan and if I have articulated their views, if I have upheld the self-respect of Pakistan in the comity of nations and internally, why should the youth of Pakistan be penalised for that?

I tell you, gentlemen, the task is great but it is not insurmountable and it is an inevitable challenge. We should all work together in whatever party you want. And if anyone of you wants to join the Pakistan People's Party, you will be welcome and you can get in touch with our friends here.

If you want any literature or any information about the party, it will be given to you. We are going to start our membership drive very soon. These things take time. But we had our convention on 30th November and 1st of December. Many difficulties were placed in our way. People who wanted to attend were prevented, victimized and everything that goes with it. Misreporting was in abundance in the press, but, by the Grace of God, it was a successful convention.

Role of Women

Address to P.P.P. Women Workers, Lahore,

January 29, 1968

I shall today outline what the Pakistan People's Party plans to do for you and for this country. We will offer the women of this country their proper place without prejudice. The place that you are given today is by chauvinistic male courtesy, as if a great favour is being done to you. Propaganda is made out of the fact that there are special seats reserved for women. Much is said about women ambassadors being appointed, but to draw an analogy, this is the kind of position the Indian government gives to its Muslim citizens. They make a Muslim the President of their country and they make a lot of noise about it in the whole world. They say, "See we have got a secular state. See, we have given a Muslim the highest position in the country." They appoint a Muslim as a Supreme Court Judge, and then the whole world is informed about it.

We are not going to confer any such special favours on you. We are not going to give you your rights because these rights are yours. We are not going to do this in a patronising manner. You will be given a proper place in the sense that you will make as much of a contribution as anyone else. You have to undertake these responsibilities as naturally as your own rights. No special favours will be bestowed. You will be called upon to accept difficult undertakings. You will be called upon to work for improving conditions in the rural areas. You will be asked to go and work in the rural areas to educate the people on how to live in cleanliness. I have seen in other countries, where much progress is being made, both in the East and the West, women working in the villages, working in the fields. I have seen in certain countries women in the defence forces. Why not? It is much better to defend your honour yourself than to allow usurpers and aggressors to dishonour society.

So, it is in this sense that you have every right to participate in all nation-building efforts. You have a great task ahead of you to build Pakistan. Pakistan cannot be built by only one section of its people. It is a collective effort, a total effort. All of us have to contribute, men and women, the young and the old. All of us have to harmonise our efforts and work collectively in a spirit of equality to overcome the problems that face the country. Just as it is not the right of any one individual to think that he can work for the whole country and can dictate to the whole country, similarly, it is not the responsibility of only one segment of society to undertake the work of the whole community. And I believe that in this great challenge you will have to play an important and decisive role.

The economic conditions are deteriorating. Civil liberties have been denied to the people. Corruption is increasing. Lawlessness has increased to such an extent that the honour and the security of citizens is not safe. So how can we the men, alone, face these great challenges? We require everyone's cooperation. That is why, I urge you, I request all of you to take constructive and enthusiastic interest in the Pakistan People's Party. This is your party. This is a party with a future. This party will Try to approach the problems of Pakistan in a new spirit, with a sense of new dedication and devotion. We will try to give a new pattern, a new outlook to the problems of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan have had, for too long, an outdated approach which modern times have made obsolete. The days of drawing-room debates and discussions and of passing resolutions and issuing statements are over. This is a time of action. This is the time to be in the field. Many countries around us have made tremendous progress and moved ahead. We will not be left behind. We must also march with the rest of the world for a better life and for a better future. There is no law of God that we here in Pakistan alone should be poor. Our country is rich. It has many resources, then why should there be poverty, hunger and disease? Why should our children not have a better future? It is their right and it is our duty to work for them so that they have better facilities for education, a better future. Their

villages and towns should be clean and sanitary. There should be hospitals and schools.

We have the resources, we have the means, we have the courage, we have the stamina. What then is lacking? Surely, it is only the dedication and the spirit which are lacking and we unitedly will create this dedication and spirit. I give you that promise. We will be able to overcome these problems so that the rest of the world can say that we are a great nation, which has made great progress and achieved high standards by the collective effort of all its people.

It is for this purpose that we have brought into being the Pakistan people's Party. If we do not have your co-operation, our task will become very difficult. As it is, it is a difficult task, with all the difficulties, the impediments, the restrictions, the victimisation, the hostile attitude of the Government, the control over the press. Three friends of mine from the press are sitting here and God alone knows what they will print tomorrow. But let them print what they like. I know you will not get misled, the country will not get misled because our hands are clean, our intentions are good. We are going ahead determinedly. Our conscience is clear. We want to serve the people of Pakistan and we want a better Pakistan. Nobody can stop us from having a better Pakistan. No matter what impediments or obstructions are created, we will achieve these goals because individuals can fail but principles cannot.

When I say we must have equality it is because the principles of equality cannot fail. I may fail in my efforts to bring about that equality but some-body else will pick up the flag and go forward. There will not be a vacuum because there is no such thing as a vacuum in the service of the people. Others will step in to lead and the efforts will continue to establish equality; real and genuine equality, not the condescending equality of patronage and privilege. Poverty and exploitation must be brought to an end, no matter how much effort is wasted on trying to confuse these issues.

I have said quite clearly that Islam is our faith. Islam is our religion and the basis of Pakistan and we are Muslims. The economic policy of our party will be based on the principles of socialism and there is nothing which is in conflict between Islam and socialism. I have found no conflict in the principles of my religion and in the principles of socialism. As a matter of fact, the first seeds of socialism flowered under Islam, the Islam of the days of our Prophet, the Islam of the days of the four Khalifas. That is the Islam which gave birth to the principles and concepts of socialism. That is our Islam, the Islam of the people of Pakistan.

We Shall Not Be Cowed
Speech at a Public Meeting at Mirpur Khas,
February 18. 1968

I am extremely grateful to you for having taken so much trouble on this rainy day to attend this public meeting in the open.

I am told you very much wanted me to come here and speak to you. So I am here with you today. But my dear brothers, I too was planning to visit - Mirpur Khas and meeting you. And I shall, Insha Allah, come again to visit you.

In my series of tours, I have so far visited quite a number of areas of the Punjab. We were enthusiastically welcomed wherever we went. We visited each and every place that came our way, and the response was very good. You may have heard about the Government's attempts to disrupt our meetings; they thought we would be frightened by 'goondaism'. But we will never get frightened. We will never be browbeaten by violence. We have resolutely raised the flag of our party, and have openly come forward. We will keep on moving ahead, and will never retreat.

It is said, 'How can Zulfikar Ali Bhutto oppose this Government when he himself was associated with it for eight years?' The Ministers who keep coming to you every now and then, and wasting your time on matters that concern you least, have been harping on the same tune. I have named them "good for nothings." They get no respect whatsoever. Even Government officials don't respect them. And why should they when Ministers are appointed on the recommendations of Commissioners? Honestly, we have never heard them talking sense. They have never said anything new. Their statements are published only in those newspapers which are their special preserves. There is virtually no newspaper for the opposition. Even the TV is for those in authority. Efforts are made to disrupt our meetings, but they themselves have meeting at

any time or place they like, although they have nothing to say about the progress and welfare of the country and the people.

They say the Basic Democracies system has been successful and that there is praise all over for the democracy which is said to be in force here. They also claim that the country has made tremendous progress. So they call for strengthening the hands of this Government.

Why should a Government need to be strengthened when it has the money, the police, the official employees and everything at its disposal? This Government has the capacity of bribing and being bribed. It has a big stick in its hands. It has the keys to all the prisons. This Government has proved to be an anti-people government. But it still keeps on calling upon others to strengthen its hands. Why after all should this Government be strengthened? Does it not mean the Government itself realises it has become weak, otherwise it would not make such puerile appeals for strengthening its hands? A government having no support from the people can never be strong.

As you see, corruption is on the increase in the country. While it is said corruption will be uprooted, we see big, influential people being spared even after they are caught taking bribes. However, all they can do to end corruption is by apprehending and arresting Sub-Inspectors. Subedars or beating up Patwaris, only because they are poor. Big officials, like Inspectors-General or their deputies remain safe, and they go on building houses. It is only the poor who would bear the brunt. Even anti-corruption measures begin and end with the poor. This is how they plan to end corruption! They would not touch big officers. These sahibs wouldn't be touched because it is they who take decisions about the Basic Democracies' elections. They are spared, because it was with their collusion that the Basic Democracies' ballot boxes were filled with pro-Government votes. They know that this Government will take no action against them. And that makes them arrogant and cruel. They have no consideration for the people.

The Basic Democracies, the so-called democratic system, have nothing democratic in them. In fact this country has been bequeathed to the 80,000 Brahmins who are enemies of the people. The Basic Democracies system has increased corruption, and widened the gulf between the people and the Government. We separated from Hindu India only because we wanted equality under Islam. We left the Brahmins and made Pakistan. But the Government has virtually again imposed Brahminism on us in the name of Basic Democracies. We are, however, determined not to rest until we banish this Brahminism.

I am accused of opposing a Government in which I have myself been for eight years. My dear brothers on my leaving the Government it was said I did so because I was unwell and that I was proceeding on 3 months' leave. Well, I am a human being and human beings can fall ill: they can even die. But when I left the Government, I was not ill, nor am I now. You had, in fact, been misled then. It was a big lie. As a matter of fact, this Government has forgotten what truth is. Every news item and statement issued is a lie. What a big lie it was to say I had suddenly fallen ill. I was, in fact, hale and hearty. You will remember that no less a person than the President himself said I was ill. I was not ill. There were some differences, basic differences relating to the integrity of Pakistan. So. I left this Government.

I was neither ill nor was there hatred against me among the people. Why then did I feel the need to leave this Government, particularly when there were no allegations against me? The only thing was that I had some basic differences with the Government. You would indeed wish me to throw some light on those differences, but then everything has to be said at the proper time. I have had enough of patience. I have been through many difficulties. I have been quiet despite continued false propaganda against me. But if the Government does not stop telling lies, I will be forced to disclose the facts. I don't want to say anything at this moment. Let the proper time come.

It is our own country, our own land. Our future generations have to live here. We have to think of them. We have to build this country of ours. We love this country. It is our homeland. We have to serve it and we will continue to serve it till the last.

We will not betray our motherland and run away to some other country. So when it is in the national interest to say something, I will do so, and will ask for your opinion. Because it is the people alone who have the right to give judgements on such issues. Only the 100 million Pakistanis have to take decisions on fundamental issues. You have to decide about the economic policy of the country as well as about what type of democracy is wanted here.

There is no use in five or six leaders giving us a system, of this type or that. That is why these problems have not so far been solved. The reason why there has been criticism is because the people have never been consulted.

While the founder of this country, the Quaid-i-Azam, is on record as having recommended a socialist system for Pakistan, just as the Poet of the East, Allama Iqbal, had described this system as the best means of bringing about prosperity, then who are these persons who criticise this system?

Islam is our religion for which we will even sacrifice our lives. Our party will offer sacrifices for the promotion of Islam not only in Pakistan but anywhere in the world. Pakistan came into being for the promotion of Islam. We are all genuinely proud of being Muslims.

These days one also reads statements to the effect that Kashmir is a complicated issue that cannot be solved. Twenty years have passed already. And now it is said that the issue should be settled through arbitration. What after all do they mean by arbitration? The issue is that of self-determination. There can

be no arbitration on the right of self-determination. What else does it mean except a division?

Since everybody here is after division and distribution, they want to divide Kashmir too. But I must warn them that Kashmir is not meant for distribution. It wouldn't be an easy thing. It is only you, the people, who can accept arbitration. But they say Kashmir is such a tricky problem it can never be solved. Well, they also say corruption has spread so much that it cannot be checked. All this may really be difficult for them to do. Well, then, if they find these problems to be difficult I would say to them that they leave the Government. Allow us to come in, and we will show you how to solve these problems. If you have become bored, if you are tired of doing things, you had better set out of the Government and let someone else come in, someone who has the courage to face India, who can eliminate corruption. They say nothing can be done in these circumstances, no progress can be made. Why should it be so? Why can't there be progress while other countries have been making progress? Why is it that they can't do anything while in other countries justice is administered despite the fact that there are problems? This Government will do nothing for the welfare of the people because it has never been interested in them. It only knows how to breed capitalists and make money.

However, they have been able to do one thing. They have locked up the poor in jails. Well, let them put me in jail if they have the courage to do so. I have only been criticising the Government. I have not used harsh language. It knows what I am saying. But what have these poor people done to the Government? It has been beating and torturing them. Let the Government face us if it so wishes. We have no police at our command. We do not have as much money as they have. We have no official employees. We have nothing except the people. We have principles. So, we can face the Government and we can defeat it.

You may go anywhere in the country you like and there you will see hatred increasing against the Government; among the 'Muhajirs' in Karachi particularly. Just now some settlers came to tell me that their demands had not yet been accepted.

The people of Karachi are not happy. They have complaints against the Government. And you know that the people in Sind too are not happy So is the case with the people of the Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan Hatred everywhere! In East Pakistan, circumstances are extremely serious. Have you really seen prosperity anywhere? If the Government thinks that officials are with them, they are mistaken. The officials too are miserable.

The Government is mistaken if it thinks it has the support of the Mirs, Pirs, the Khan Sahibs or the Khan Bahadurs of this or other areas. The Khan Bahadurs and Khan Sahibs of this particular area had supported Miss Jinnah against Ayub. Perhaps, the Government has gone blind, or is just not able to reckon with facts.

I must explain what is wrong. No one is a disruptionist. We are not disruptionists. Why should we be disruptionists? We love this country. We have to serve this country. The Government itself is disruptionist. It has spread violence and disruption everywhere.

Why should we mislead anyone, particularly the students who are our hope and our future? The Government has the control of newspapers, radio and television. If it has not been able to mislead the students despite the use of these media, how would we be able to do that? The students are however against the Government because the Government itself has lost them. They have become sick of its policies.

After all what was the need for the University Ordinance which amounts to robbing the students of education and knowledge? Depriving a student of his degree is unheard of, knowledge cannot be taken away. The Government has itself made them its opponents. It has estranged the poor people, the labourers and peasants because of its wrong policies. All of them would have supported the Government had it followed correct policies. The people do not care for the Government, because the Government cares little for them.

The Government is mistaken if it thinks it can crush the people through its Basic Democracies system. It is virtually nearing its end. The people need not feel frightened of anything any more. Why should you be afraid of anything at all? What wrong have you done? And, after all, there is always a limit to violence and oppression. Don't think -it is a big task to confront the Government. But it is not a question of confrontation alone. It is a question of your demands. Your rights must be restored to you. Why were you deprived of your constitutional and fundamental rights? It is two years now since the 1965 war ended followed by the Tashkent Declaration. But despite this, the Defence of Pakistan Rules are still in force. What is the justification?

The Government has, on the one hand, signed the Tashkent Declaration and, on the other, has enforced the Defence of Pakistan Rules. It has compromised with the enemy through the Declaration. Is it at war with its own citizens that it feels the need for the Defence of Pakistan Rules?

It is argued Pakistan cannot fight against India because she has big ordnance factories, that she is now manufacturing her own tanks and air-craft; that she is a big country.

I would like to say to these people: Don't show us the map of India. We don't feel the need to see it. We have already seen it. Not only have we seen India's map but her heart as well. If decisions were to be made on the basis of an

oppressor's strength, then there would have been no struggles in the world at all. The Americans could have told the Vietnamese that it had so many tanks and aircraft, so the matter would have ended. But it is truth and justice that always triumph. It is inevitable that we win because Pakistan has a just cause. The poor people of Pakistan need not be disappointed. They are brave people. And I am sure they are not easily disappointed.

The Government should rather encourage such people. But how can it encourage the poor people? It is too busy in serving and encouraging the capitalists. That is why the economic conditions have been deteriorating day by day. The poor man's lot has deteriorated so much that he can no longer tolerate further miseries. It is argued that the people should stop giving bribes. How can a poor man ones bribes? He has virtually nothing to eat or educate his children with. It is the rich who are corrupt.

Corruption cannot be ended the way Government wants to end it, We tell you how to end it. Just keep your hands clean. This is the only way it can be eliminated.

My dear brothers, it is in view of these vices that the need has been felt to form a new party. It will be a fearless party. It wouldn't sit calmly because of fear. It will serve you. It has given you a manifesto. You can well argue that all political parties have been making such promises in the past. You can say that everyone in the past has been promising to serve the poor and eliminate poverty. But I want to assure you that there is a lot of difference between the past politicians' promises and our manifesto. We have not only made promises but we have also presented to you the ways and means of attaining our objectives which are mentioned in our manifesto. It has never been done before in our politics. No party has ever announced its promises in writing and made itself answerable to the people.

Our party is hardly four months old. And in this short period it has achieved more than what it expected. Many branches have been set up in both East and West Pakistan. The poor masses have been with us every-where. The labourers have supported us, for we have to serve them. The peasants are with us, because we have to work for them. The students are our supporters because we have to plead their cause.

On my part I assure you that we will spare no effort to serve all of you. We have the support of the students. We have the support of the labourers, workers, peasants—of all sections of society. We had their full support wherever we went. As I have said before, the poor government officials have also supported us. And all this shows that the whole country supports us. So with the blessings of the Almighty and your co-operation, we will certainly succeed.

I will, therefore, request you to strengthen the poor people, through the party for it represents them; it belongs to you all. They can arrest individuals, hundreds and thousands of them. But they cannot put the whole party in jail. Ideas and ideologies cannot be chained. You cannot arrest justice and equality. You can arrest the leaders of this party, but not its ideas. The arrest of its leaders will help further arouse the people's consciousness. The workers' detention will further step up party work.

So don't be disappointed, my friends; you are a brave nation and you have now pledged to enforce the system of 'Musawat' to improve the poor people's lot, to eliminate poverty. We have no personal grudge against anyone. This party is nobody's personal estate. It is a question of national welfare, the welfare of 100 million Pakistanis. Therefore, don't think we have been struggling against personalities. Given your good wishes, success will be ours.

Address to Nawabshah Bar Association
February 21, 1968

I am thankful to you for inviting me to meet you this morning. For a long time I have been wanting to visit Nawabshah and to meet friends and renew acquaintances. This visit has been delayed because I have been touring quite extensively. I had decided to devote a month to Sind in order to spread the views and the message of my new party to meet friends, to establish contacts.

With this purpose I left Karachi for Hyderabad some days ago. But unfortunately before I could reach Hyderabad I got the news that Section 144 had been clamped on the district.

You, Mr. President, called that an unusual coincidence. It is more than a coincidence. It betrays nervousness and weakness in the Government which has much to conceal, much to hide. Because of this it has banned public meetings. Instead of appreciating the exposure of truth which acts as a deterrent against many forms of abuse, the Government encourages abuse and tyranny by preventing the truth from reaching the people. This it does because it knows that many evils have spread all over. It has been said that corruption exists everywhere. Certainly some wise observations have been made by ministers and those higher to them, that corruption has become a part of modern times, that corruption exists and has existed everywhere and that it is not a new phenomenon for the people of Pakistan to cope with. It is being said that these things are inevitable in a developing society and that the people themselves are responsible for the spread of corruption. But I say that if the Government is corrupt, then People will be corrupted and if it does not encourage corruption, Corruption will come to an end.

Such decadent arguments are being given to explain away this evil of corruption. Gentlemen, first of all, in all humility, I do not agree that corruption is

the order of the day everywhere in the world. Secondly, it is a fact that perhaps marginal corruption, technically speaking, exists every-where; but the kind of corruption that exists in Pakistan has become an institution. You cannot take one step out of your house without encountering it. As a matter of fact, corruption is on a honeymoon in Pakistan. It has eaten into the vitals of our society. It is not possible for a poor country to tolerate this unchecked corruption. It is wrong to say that in a developing society, corruption is inevitable. On the contrary, in a developing society, every effort must be made to minimise, if not wipe out, corruption.

And, gentlemen, there are better ways and more efficient ways of tackling corruption than to give the advice that you should not give bribes, otherwise you yourself are responsible for this evil. There are much better ways, much more efficient ways to handle corruption. I do not have to tell intelligent people what those ways are. But, apart from the ways, the intention must be there to put an end to corruption. And the intention can only be there if you yourself believe that corruption is an evil and you yourself refuse to be corrupted. If your hands are clean and if you think only of the common good and of the progress of society, and if that is your only consideration, then with those ideas and intentions, modern society provides the means, efficient and effective means, to deal with this problem. It is shameless and scandalous to look at this problem the way the Government does.

In any case, what have the poor people of Pakistan got to give as bribes? What does the poor farmer or labourer possess that he may corrupt officials? The man is living from hand to mouth, a bare existence. He has no capacity to provide for himself and his family and his children. It is a miserable life, from morning to night, spent in hunger and misery and yet you say if the people do not corrupt, there will be no corruption. It is like squeezing blood out of a stone. Only those who know the conditions of the people of the rural classes, of the urban

society, will know that it is not so easy for the poor people of Pakistan to encourage the institution of corruption.

Then there is smuggling. There are ways and means to end smuggling as well. Those ways and means are known to you and they are known to the Government. But then it is said that we have a very long border and therefore it is very difficult to prevent smuggling. We might have a long border but there are countries with much longer borders. Whether the border is long or short, smuggling will continue, if the attitude remains what it is. It is not, therefore, a question of the length of our border but how far the impartial arm of the law can reach out for the delinquent.

Added to corruption and smuggling, are the mal administration and lawlessness in the country. Crime and violence are increasing to such an extent that the honour of no one is really safe from arbitrary arrest and from imprisonment under the cover of Defence of Pakistan Rules which have been used excessively. Arrests are ordered for purposes other than for the security of the state or the integrity of the nation which, in fact, have been jeopardised by this Government itself. The Defence of Pakistan Rules exist although the war was over two years ago and they exist in spite of the Tashkent Declaration which is supposed to have put an end to the conflict between India and Pakistan. In the name of the Defence of Pakistan Rules, many people are arbitrarily arrested and called disruptionists and secessionists. A tendency has grown to say that the majority province of this country is showing signs of secession. I would refuse to believe that the majority of this country would want to secede from itself. What the people of East Pakistan want is "friends, not masters." If you exploit and dominate them as you exploit and dominate the whole nation, how do you expect unity to emerge out of exploitation and domination? In the history of mankind, has unity sprung from exploitation and domination? Unity has emerged from equality and a sense of justice which are denied to the people of this country. It is for this reason that, on the one hand, the Government says that the crisis is

mounting and, on the other, that unity is weakening. Why should the crisis mount and unity weaken? They should be consolidating the unity of this fine nation, this great nation, which, united together, had succeeded in achieving Pakistan against the opposition of the Congress and British imperialism. This is the same nation which united magnificently then and it is capable of uniting again if you remove domination and exploitation and give it equality and justice.

If you deny the people their rights, their fundamental and inalienable rights, if you do not make them partners in power, if you exclude them from all functions, which inherently they must have a right to, if you suspect them, if you maltreat them, in that event, you are bound to get alien agents among the people. Look wherever you go, in whatever direction your eyes turn, you find frustration, anger and suffocation. You take the student community. The student community is upset, annoyed and up in arms. Why the student community is annoyed and up in arms is because you distrust the younger generation. Instead of giving academic freedom to the universities, you have chained the youth of Pakistan with the oppressive and - obnoxious University Ordinances and other restrictions. You have even the audacity to take away degrees from them. This means that the Government has committed a dacoity on the minds of the youth of Pakistan. And then you say that the student community is being misled by others. The student community will not be misguided and misled by others.

In any case, we do not have the instruments to misguide and mislead them, because public platforms are denied to us. The press is denied to us. It is the Government which is the repository of all the media of propaganda. The newspapers, the radio, the television night and day blare forth nasty propaganda, and yet the student community is agitating against the Government. They are agitating because they understand, they know about their rights. They know what their future is. The youth of Pakistan stands estranged.

Take the legal profession. The legal profession is not happy because the laws have been tampered with. The law should be so clear that every person should be able to understand it. That is the principle of the law, but the law is so confused that I would like to say, with due respect, that even the legal profession is confused. This has been deliberately done in order to re-create the past which no longer exists, because the Government has a colonial mentality. That is why they are thrilled by the bygone days of the Jirga system. They want to reimpose those conditions on a modern and a progressive society. This is just not possible and the result is that there is con-fusion in the law. So the legal community is dissatisfied.

Take the labouring classes. See how the labouring classes are being exploited under the system of plunder and loot which prevails in Pakistan today. It is the kind of capitalism which perhaps existed a century ago in the United States of America. This form of capitalism exists nowhere in the world today. It is absolute highway robbery. In the United States, the President after election, disinvests his assets and shares. In Pakistan, when a person becomes President, he acquires assets and shares.

This is a land of capitalism, monopolist, cut-throat, cold-blooded, ruthless, capitalism. Bank vaults in foreign countries are being stuffed with the profits of Pakistani industrialists. How can the labouring classes in Pakistan be happy? Their conditions are getting worse everyday. The wages are not increasing, but the prices of commodities are increasing. The right of strike is not there. All facilities are denied to them. The capitalist class thrives so the labouring classes are dissatisfied; as are farmers and peasants. State-lands have been given to rich people.

Stale lands should be given to the peasantry and to the tenants, to the cultivators to the tillers of the soil instead of to a new rich class of industrialists and other rich people. This is against elementary laws of justice. That is why our

party was among the first to pass a resolution against this system of creating a new class of land-owners instead of giving rights 10 tenants and peasants.

In other words take any profession, any class of people, and you will see frustration. You go to Karachi and you find that people are unhappy. Refugee settlers have been abused roundly and squarely. The people of this region have been attacked. The people of the Punjab have been attacked. The people of Baluchistan have been repressed. The people of Bengal are being suppressed and are being called secessionists. Then, where are the people who support this regime? Where are the people who give strength to this regime? Absolutely nowhere in the country, gentlemen! That is why today the Government is completely isolated. It is isolated and it is weak, and it relies on a handful of corrupt bureaucrats who have exceeded their functions and are indulging in politics. These are bad traditions. These are wrong traditions. I do not condemn the whole bureaucracy. There are young, intelligent, capable, honest bureaucrats who are doing their work. But at the same time, there are some bureaucrats who have exceeded the limits and have become a party in the crimes of this regime and who have trespassed beyond their responsibilities and are now indulging in politics. They will rue this and one day be answerable to the people of Pakistan.

This regime stands completely exposed and isolated. There is nothing to fear, gentlemen, because this regime's stability is artificial. This state of affairs cannot last. It is straining the unity of Pakistan. It is more than straining the unity of Pakistan; it is straining the patience of a millions of people of this country. Therefore, you should, in the interest of this country, in the interest of your people, for the welfare of the people of Pakistan, for the progress of this land, undertake the responsibilities of citizenship and participate in the common struggle to put an end to pressure and tyranny. It is wrong to say that it is not possible to combat a tyrannical government. On the contrary, it is much more difficult to combat a government which is popularly supported than a government which is isolated, which relies on brute force. This Government moves like a

maniac, throwing people into jails. How long can you fill the jails? Ideas cannot be imprisoned. Principles cannot be imprisoned. The entire population cannot be imprisoned. A whole situation and a political party cannot be imprisoned. That is why we believe it is essential that everyone of us should work together in the service of Pakistan, because this is our own country. Only we can make or break it. It has been marred enough, and it is about time there was a turning point. I tell you, gentlemen, that the turning point has come. The writing on the wall is quite clear. These internal basic contradictions cannot last. They have to be stopped and the deterioration reversed. All of us must work together to bring about a change for the better and for the good of Pakistan. The internal conditions, I have briefly touched upon. Now I will like to say a few words on the external contradictions of this regime. I say this because internal and external factors are inseparable, especially in the world of today. As far as the external policy is concerned, 11 is a reflection of internal contradictions.

The internal contradictions are massive and complete no matter from what angle you look at them and however generous an interpretation you place on them. From the beginning that is from the time they said that there should be no political party in the country, the political parties were crushed. Then the Government began saying that there should be a unitary form of government and ended with a system neither unitary nor federal. In the beginning it said we must concentrate on industry and not on agriculture. And now the proposition has been reversed to say that we should give primary and complete attention to agriculture and become self-sufficient in it. Everywhere there are contradictions. First we were told in this place itself to grow sugarcane. Sind was to become the Cuba of Pakistan. Everywhere sugarcane should be grown. When it was found that sugarcane competes with wheat, then we were told not to grow sugar-cane. This is an example of basic and elementary contradictions.

External policy is also a reflection of these contradictions. I would like to point out a few of them. On one hand, in the beginning, we were told there

should be joint defence with India. That was said to be essential and inevitable. We ended up with a war against India. Then we were told that America was the only country which was Pakistan's natural friend and ally; that if America required the assistance of any country in Asia, it would only be in Pakistan that American forces would be welcomed. This assurance was given to the Congress of the United States in June 1961, I think. Then, all of a sudden, we discovered our geography and we came to realise, after about 15 years of existence, that there were two countries, one was the Soviet Union and the other the People's Republic of China and it was essential for us to have good relations with these two northern neighbours.

Then we were told that bilateral policies were very productive and beneficial, but we remain today the most multilaterally committed nation in the world. We were also told that we will do nothing for one great power which should be against the interests of other great powers, and yet we remained members of CENTO and SEATO, and gave facilities to the United States of America, which China and the Soviet Union regarded as unfriendly.

We were told that we would not compromise the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. From the right of self-determination we moved to an "honourable and just settlement," from "honourable and just" to "fair and equitable", from "fair and equitable" to "meaningful," from "meaningful" to "keeping disputes aside" and from there, finally, to "arbitration." How can you arbitrate the right of self-determination? These are some of the contradictions in the field of foreign affairs.

Recently, there has been an Award on the Rann of Kutch. I have not had the lime to study it, but the decision is quite clear in Sind. I do not require a detailed study of it, since I was an active participant in the whole process. It is an interesting lesson in many ways, most interesting and illuminating. I think the most important lesson of the Kutch dispute and the reference of the dispute to

arbitration is that if you do not fear consequences, then the consequences are always satisfactory. But if you fear consequences, then the consequences are more disastrous than your fears. And for once, I think that Pakistan took the attitude that thus far and no further, and that a line had to be drawn and that India could not keep encroaching into our territory. You cannot keep encroaching on the rights of others on the basis of your power and your superior strength, and on the assumption that the other's fear of consequences will permit you to enjoy the fruits of your aggression. And because Pakistan for once, in the case of the Rann of Kutch, did not fear the consequences, the consequences were satisfactory and led to arbitration. If we had not resisted the Indian encroachment, another Chhad Bet would have been brought upon us at Kanjar Kot.

In 1956 India selfishly and illegally occupied Pakistan territory of Chhad Bet. At that time it was felt it would not be right to respond to this act of aggression because India was a powerful country and that we should appeal to reason and appeal to the good sense of the world community, go back to the United Nations and do things to expose India's act of aggression. Good reason does not apply in these matters, unfortunately, and especially in the context of the subcontinent's disputes. India thought it had successfully usurped Chhad Bet, so they began aggressive action against Kanjar Kot. But in Kanjar Kot, Pakistan did not take the same passive, apologetic attitude. We confronted India. This is where the policy of confrontation paid its dividends. They say the policy of confrontation has not paid dividends. Well, the Rann of Kutch is an instance where the policy of confrontation has paid dividends and the Pakistan army confronted the Indian forces and we brought about an encirclement of the Indian forces which forced India to accept arbitration.

So if I were to be asked to offer comments on the Award, on the fact that there had been an arbitration, I will say that the fear of consequences is worse than the consequences; and that it is necessary to confront the adversary to protect your rights, irrespective of the odds that are against you, because a just

cause must always succeed. Now that the Award has been rendered, in my opinion, at least half the area of the Rann, that is up to Kareem Shahi, if not beyond, should have gone to Pakistan, but then, we submitted the dispute to an international tribunal and in that spirit, the award should be accepted. However, you can see from the attitude of the Indian Government as to what its methods are and what is the language that it understands. Even before the Award was announced, there were certain details which were leaked out to the press. Naturally, I am sure, that the Government of Pakistan was as much aware of what the Award was likely to be as was the Government of India, because the Government of India had one representative and the Government of Pakistan had one representative. So they must have been keeping the two governments informed. But I think, about a week or ten days before the Award was given, there was a news-item in the press that the Indian Government was not going to accept the Award.

Now this was done deliberately to put the onus on Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan immediately reacted to it by saying that it was the duty of both parties to accept the Award, without even knowing what the Award was, without making any comment on the Award. It did not examine whether the Award should be accepted on merit but immediately fell into the trap and said, "No, it is the duty of both the Governments to accept it." That meant if 90 percent of the area went to India, we would accept it and be satisfied. At that time I said in a speech at Mirpurkhas that the Government had fallen into an obvious trap. Because intelligence people accompanied me everywhere my remarks at Mirpurkhas must have been duly conveyed to the Foreign Office, and so the Foreign Office next day said that Pakistan was not happy with the Award but, nevertheless, since it had been given, it would be taken in that spirit.

However, what can we expect, because the Government today, apart from one or two exceptions, which I also doubt, is in the hands of novices who do not understand even the ABC of politics, who commit one blunder after another, one

mistake after another? And in this way the Government can be said to be in action but without moving forward, living from day to day and having ex-post-facto policies. It has no capacity for anticipation. Politics is a very fine art and in politics it is essential to have the ability to anticipate events. This Government, however, does not have it. In politics, it is essential to retain the initiative. This Government has surrendered each and every initiative. In the beginning for ten years or so, the initiative was with India: a neutral line, world prestige, respect and everything else.

Slowly, due to events for a brief period, the initiative came into the hands of Pakistan: but one by one, the levers have been thrown away and today the Pakistan Government's position has weakened so much that the Soviet Union can take the risk of restoring military assistance to India. They can take that risk because the Pakistan Government has been isolated, internally and externally, it can exert no pressure and has no power of negotiation. It is alienated and exposed. Others have taken its measure and tailored their policies towards Pakistan accordingly. The Government¹ still cannot anticipate events and does not know how to regain the initiative this country once had.

Thirdly, it has no sense of timing. Another great attribute which is essential in politics is that all actions must be well-timed. They must be according to the rhythm of the movement, according to the rhythm of events, according to the music of revolution. This they do not have. They have neither a sense of timing, nor initiative, nor giving the people a sense of participation. I refuse to believe that a nation of a hundred and twenty million people, with such a great past, with such fine traditions, is incapable of making a contribution to the cause of world peace.

And for this reason, we have come into the field. We are in the field. We have accepted the challenge. We have prepared our plan. We have given the country a basis and a framework of principles on which we can proceed. We

have not in any way indulged in sophistry or ambiguity. We have given our ideas in a written manifesto and pledged what we believe in. Islam is our religion. It is our faith. We are Muslims. We are all proud that democracy is our polity. Socialism is our economy. All power belongs to the people. These four principles have been elucidated. And on the basis of these principles, we have come into the arena.

This was a decision which was taken after a great deal of thought and consideration. I weighed all the consequences. It is not a decision taken just in anger, because when I left the Government, many of my friends at that time advised me that I should do something, form a political party, and I told them that it was not the right time, that I wanted the barometer to fall to its lowest point. By that time I would know what to do and how to do it. I would start a movement on a permanent basis, rather than on a passing fancy. That is why, I even went out of Pakistan for some time to examine the question in an objective manner. And I came back and I consulted many friends. I must say that it has been a source of great strength and satisfaction to me that I have with me dedicated persons. There are many such friends everywhere in the country who believe that this country is capable of great achievements and who also believe that the majority wants everyone to have equal rights, without use of pressure and without domination. I believe that we will have the support of all such people throughout the country and in both wings.

In particular, we believe that the youth will be the vanguard of this movement because I think there is a growing body of sentiment in the country which would like to try a new approach to our problems, by the youth who may have respect for the old, but are tired of the old ways. We have had enough drawing-room discussions, enough passing of resolutions and of statements. A whole era has passed, but the mentality has not fully changed. We have moved from one decade to another. The backwardness of the old decade persists in the new decade, so there is an urge and a hidden feeling which has got to be

articulated. We must start with a clean slate and articulate our values in a new style and a new approach and I believe that this is good for Pakistan, because there is bound to be a tomorrow. We cannot live in the present mess. And when this tomorrow comes we should be a model, self-respecting nation. That day can only come if there is this new revolutionary approach to problems, acts of magnanimity, a sense of trust, because there have been many betrayals.

Incompetence Intensifies Crisis

Address to the Khairpur Bar Association,

March 8, 1968

The country is going through a serious economic and political crisis and this crisis is mounting. It is getting bigger and bigger. It is getting most serious for a number of reasons. I think the main reason is that the Government has lost its sense of direction, that is, if it had any sense of direction at all. When you lose your sense of direction and you lose your sense of purpose and rely on brute force, then it is not really possible to bring satisfaction to the people. What the people want is security, justice and satisfaction.

Security they can get from an incorruptible and disciplined social system only. When the system is corrupt and it encourages class exploitation then security cannot be had for the common man. So security will remain an illusion.

Satisfaction comes by sharing power, by knowing that you are taking the decisions which determine your destiny. If you are not made a party to the decisions which affect you and your future, then naturally you will not be satisfied. But if you are a participant in the affairs of state, then even if things go wrong, you blame yourself first, because you are a party to that decision. If you are excluded from taking part in the decisions which affect you, then even the right decisions do not provide satisfaction. But when those decisions are wrong, then you are not only dissatisfied but you are disillusioned; you get frustrated and your sense of despair increases. This Government which is moving without a sense of direction and without a sense of purpose, can give neither satisfaction to the people, nor a sense of security

If the people do not have real economic benefits, if they do not have political freedom, then naturally, there will be discontent. And when there is discontent, then the authorities become fearful of the truth. They impose a curtain

of ignorance between the realities and their own actions. It is then that they start suppressing the freedom of expression, freedom of thought, and banning public meetings, so that the truth is not known. When you have something to conceal, and this Government has a great deal to conceal and a great deal to hide, it will naturally be sensitive to public meetings and to free expression. That is why the Government is so sensitive. Even when you do not touch on those subjects on which they are sensitive, their conscience makes them feel that you might touch on those subjects, that you might expose the truth, that you might say, something which will embarrass them, and when that does not happen, they feel relieved but then that relief is also short-lived, because they believe that the exposure may come the next time. Consequently, tyranny increases. You have a situation of tyranny in Pakistan which confirms what I have just said. There is no sense of security, no economic or political satisfaction and, as a result of that, tyranny.

Increase in tyranny leads to greater contradictions. That is why here again we have a situation where contradictions are multiplied. When contradictions multiply, you reach the end of the road, not only internally but also externally, because internal and external factors are inter-linked, specially in the world of today which has become very small. Your external policies are in reality the expression of your internal conditions. Temporarily there may be some deviations from that, caused on account of other factors. But sooner or later the pendulum must swing towards the basic internal conditions. Consequently, when you have reached the zenith of internal contradictions, there will inevitably be external contradictions. External contradictions are in some respects more serious than internal contradictions.

I say in some respects, because there is nothing more difficult and nothing more dangerous than internal contradictions, but that is over a period of time. However, external contradictions do not even permit you much time, because external forces do not respect your internal situation, are not bound by your

conditions. They are subject to their own conditions, so they take full advantage of your internal weaknesses.

I will now give a few examples regarding the difficulties the Government is facing due to the grave internal situation where it has forfeited the confidence of the people. It is suspended in mid-air and its fate is hanging in the balance. Therefore, all external forces will take advantage of this situation. Recently, the Government allowed the controlled press to write something about the arms aid to India. That was also done in a subdued fashion because they are not in a position really to courageously protest against any action of an external power. Because the action was serious, they made some sort of protest. A Foreign Office official spoke on the subject and a few people also gave statements to the press. The Foreign Office statement said that they were surprised at the Soviet decision to supply arms to India. Well, I would say that there might be room for disappointment and anxiety but certainly not surprise, because surprise comes from ignorance. When the Government says it was surprised, that means it was proceeding on certain false assumptions. If it had made a correct appraisal of the situation, there would have been no occasion for surprise. It should have expected this to happen.

Why did the Soviet Union suspend arms aid to India and why did it restore it? If you analyze the reasons, there is no cause to feel surprised at all. The Soviet Union suspended arms aid to India when Pakistan's foreign policy was correct and when the initiative was in Pakistan's hands. At that time, the Soviet Union changed its policy in the subcontinent slightly but not fundamentally. The real reason was that the growing Pakistan-China relations were naturally causing anxiety to the United States and also a different kind of anxiety to the Soviet Union. They also wanted to come in to see if they would be able to have an influence in the country to match the growing Chinese influence. Hence, the Tashkent initiative, hence, some modifications. But when the Government got caught in its contradictions and froze its China policy, there was no need for the

Soviet Union then not to resume its traditional arms deliveries to India. In fact, they could do that with impunity, because the factor which had prompted them to change their policy had got frozen. Once they realised this they resumed arms deliveries to India. The fault is not of the Soviet Union but of our Government's policy. If we had maintained our active China policy, then, obviously, the Soviet Union would not have readily restored arms deliveries to India.

We remain members of CENTO and SEATO, although military assistance has been stopped by America. Pakistan gave all kinds of facilities to the United States. Why should the Soviet Union not have given arms to India? India, no matter how immoral its philosophy and policies, is technically non-aligned. Technically, it is not a member of any pact. Now you say in the great books that you write that these pacts are useless, yet you remain in them. Your military assistance is stopped, yet you do not have the courage, cause you are caught in contradictions, to leave these pacts, because then the pressure will increase on you.

Take the case of the immigrants. Anyone in England, whether he is an Indian or an African of Asian origin, if caught for contravention of immigration laws, is dubbed a Pakistani by the British press. Why? Because they feel that they can take this risk with Pakistan but not with India. And our High Commissioner protests that they are not Pakistanis, they are Indians, they are Sikhs. Why are they being called Pakistanis? Well, because the British press can take liberties with Pakistan but not with India. Take the Kenyan Asians. They call these Kenyans Asians though their majority is Indian, because it can be said that Indians are not coming from Kenya, only Kenyan Asians. And when Indians are caught they call them Pakistanis, and when the Indians come in larger number, they are called Asians. And it is again India that protests to them and threatens to take counter measures. We have remained silent all these days.

In the Rann of Kutch matter the Indians gave out an inspired story to the press that they might not accept the Award. Before waiting to see what the Award was, we said no matter what the Award is, we will accept it. Again we took the onus on ourselves. Why do we do that? The Indians had only planted a feeler? Can we not have the patience to wait? That did not happen because the administration is run by people who do not understand the ABC of these things. But every time they come to the people, they make themselves the objects of ridicule because of the way they address the people, the way they talk to the people.

There is no link between them and the people. They simply do not understand the people's problems. Then they get angry when the people are not satisfied with the so-called economic development. Why can't the people understand the great development that has taken place? Where is that great development? Ask the poor people of Pakistan. Ask the people of Pakistan who are starving; who have no sense of security; whose children cannot go to school; who have no means of livelihood; who can find no room in hospitals; who, if they go and buy drugs, get defective drugs; who get adulterated food; who are the victims of corruption and yet it is said that the per capita income has gone up and we have become a second Japan, and that we have got the World Bank's certificate to prove it.

This is no way in which an economy should develop. Reading many law books does not make everyone a good lawyer. A good library does not automatically bestow wisdom on its owner. So also you can have some semblance of development, of some factories here and there, but unless it has all been done according to a certain pattern, according to the resources of the country, according to correct priorities, according to the way in which the poor man really benefits, there can be no popular satisfaction. Just erratic building of things is not economic development. Today, the Government says that it is not able to repay foreign loans and that the foreign loans have become a heavy

burden. It says that it has invested these loans wisely. How has it invested these loans wisely? I will give you an example.

A sugar mill is to be constructed and you get a foreign loan for it. One of the conditions is that you must buy the machinery from the 'country giving the loan which means that you immediately pay 40 per cent more for that machinery compared to international prices. And because you buy without competition, arbitrary prices are quoted by the sellers. That is what tied loans are, tied up with the country which gives the loan. On top of that, there are the agents' profits, not to speak of the commissions which are kept outside in Swiss banks. Then there is under-invoicing and over-invoicing. By the time the plant comes to Pakistan and if it is worth Rs. 6 million you have already agreed to pay Rs. 10 million and on this you have to pay compound interest. Who has to pay ten million and the interest? It has to be paid by the farmer because he is the one who earns foreign exchange. What does the farmer get for his foreign exchange? He gets the official rate and if you take into account his overheads, he gets less than the low official purchase rate. The industrialist gets much more because of bonus and other incentives.

Now, if that is to be the pattern of your economic development, then I am afraid it is not development. It is only disaster, and that is why people are not satisfied. They are not blind. Somebody recently in Hyderabad said that the people are blind, that they cannot see the development and the dams that have been built. Well, they have seen the dams and damned them all. This is not development. Mere building cannot be called development. Physical and social targets have both to be kept in mind. For several years they forgot agriculture. They concentrated on industrialisation. Now all of a sudden they have realised that the country needs agriculture. We have a pact with America for Mexi-Pak and Irri rice. After a lapse of full seven years we have admitted that our priorities were wrong.

The situation in West Pakistan is getting more and more tense and it is getting out of hand in the East. The Government says that East Pakistanis want to go their own way. I cannot believe that. They are the majority. The seeds of Pakistan were sown in Bengal. The Muslim League was born in Bengal. Had there been no Bengal, there would have been no Pakistan. It is our majority province and it has made a very big contribution to Pakistan. How can a majority leave on its own? How can it surrender its rights? Why should they leave Pakistan and become a part of India? The people are not secessionists, but what they want are friends, not masters. If we treat them like friends then, of course, they will be friends. But if we treat them like servants and think that we have the legacy of the British to rule them, then they may want to go. The Government has become the heirs of the British. It believes in the maxim of 'divide and rule'. The Bengalis are being denied their rights. If a minority can feel the denial of rights, imagine how a majority will feel. That is why I think the time has come when all of us should actively work for the future of this country.

Pakistan can become a great state. Pakistan has all that is needed to become one of the major states of Asia and Africa. Its people are hard-working, it has got the resources, it is a big country and it can make tremendous progress. What we need is the right framework, a sense of purpose, a sense of equality, an end to exploitation and tyranny, and for that we all have to struggle for a common cause.

We are not against individuals. We are for our country's future. No-body has the monopoly to determine what is good for Pakistan. We all have the right to say what is good for Pakistan. That is what we are doing now in an organised way, in a proper way. We have started with a clean slate. We do not have internal quarrels in our party. All of us are friends. We have got clear-cut principles in the highest interests of Pakistan. We have principles of socialism, because socialism ends exploitation. If you want to create a sense of equality throughout the country, then end the exploitation, because the more you exploit,

the greater is the inequality; the less you exploit, the greater the equality and unity.

That is why we believe in equality. For us, there is no other way out but to have a socialist economy. A socialist economy does not mean a communist economy. We need no foreign inspiration or guidance. We are capable of evolving our own pattern of socialist principles according to the conditions and framework of our Islamic way of life.

In this struggle we appeal for the co-operation of all the people of Pakistan. I am certain that finally we will succeed. May be that individually one or two people here and there may not succeed but the cause must succeed. There is no doubt about this. We have got a great response from the youth of Pakistan which is the most important factor, because youth means tomorrow. It is the future. We must wait for the morning sunshine. That is why the youth is with us because we are the future of Pakistan. This is the generation of the future. It is a very great asset. I am convinced in my mind that we will succeed.

Address at a Public Meeting at Khairpur Mirs March, 1968

One of the principles of our party is to give equal rights to all its members to express their views and to aspire to assume leadership. That is why we have never had party feuds on holding offices, nor have we had any row on party elections. The basic principle of our party is equality. To err is human. I am not infallible. I have, therefore, told my partymen to stop me whenever they find I have done wrong. They are free to check me without fear. It is only in this spirit that party unity and party spirit can be strengthened.

Islam is our religion. Pakistan could not have been brought into being without the Islamic spirit. The most important principle of our party is Islam. There is simply no room for any argument on this.

Democracy is our politics. Without democracy Pakistan would not have been formed. Had there been no democracy the same old exploiters and capitalists would have started ruling us. We have to struggle for the restoration of democracy because democracy alone can ensure protection to the rights of the poor masses.

And socialism is our economic programme. Islam and socialism are not incompatible. They don't run counter to each other. The Quaid-i-Azam is on record for having pleaded for a socialist economy for Pakistan in his speeches in Bombay, Delhi and, after the creation of Pakistan, in Chittagong. I can't understand why there should be any difference between the basic Islamic principles and socialist ideas, particularly when we have before us clear injunctions on this question by the Father of the Nation.

We have embarked on our party work. In November last, at the time of the announcement about the setting up of our party, we had given a very clear,

unambiguous manifesto to the nation. We put forward certain procedures and made some promises. You may well say you have heard these promises being made in the past. But we have explained the ways and means of implementing our promises. I am confident that our visit to East Pakistan will prove successful. We are hopeful of its success because ours are national principles. They are based on national interests. When I started my tour of the Punjab and, even before that, the official propaganda machinery would suggest that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his party had the support of the Punjab alone. They said Bhutto had no following in Sindh. All those Ministers—whom I have given the names of "Messrs Good for Nothing"—passing through here, would say Bhutto had no support in Sindh. I would just ignore these things. Because in democracy you need not reply to each and everything. Time, as they say, provides the right answer. Moreover, I did not feel the need for replying to that kind of propaganda because with, the credit of having served the whole of the country, I have to my credit service to this area, because, after all, I belong to this area. I have not come from Kenya that I should have no following in Sind. I have served equally all sections of the population in Sindh, including the Muhajirs and the Sindhis. I have treated all of them alike. So, having served the whole of the country, I fully believe that I will succeed in Sindh and that Sindh will fully support me.

After completing the current tour, I will visit NWFP. As a matter of fact, I have already been there. There, too, our party is working well. However, difficulties are bound to come. As a great statesman has said politics and revolutions are not feasts. So difficulties there will be, and we will face them with courage. That is how you are tried. There are no shortcuts in politics, although sometimes someone manages to grab power through the backdoor. But time again has proved that such things do not last long.

As you know, the present Government claims there is stability in the country—political stability and political integrity. Well, stability there is, but it is the stability that prevails in a graveyard, stability of corruption, of exploitation. This

Government is not being run in accordance with the Constitution in force in the country.

Under this Constitution, the Speaker is not entitled to administer the oath of office to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. If you look at the Constitution, this can be done only by the President or, in his absence, by the acting President. Also this Constitution does not make provision for a senior Minister to preside over cabinet meetings. There is no concept of joint ministerial responsibility because the Constitution does not provide for a parliamentary system.

Another feature of this Constitution is that when the President falls ill the acting President should take a similar oath of office. That proves that the so-called stability has been maintained through an arbitrary system and by violating the Constitution. Would you call this stability?

It is said that we are hankering after power. If fools can wield power for eight years, there is no reason why people such as us should not come into power. We have been working for and serving this country. Power is nobody's monopoly. It is not supposed to remain with the present incumbents for ever. Why should they love power so much that they don't seem to be willing to leave it even when there is hatred against them all over the country? They do not act according to their own Constitution. They have made enormous mistakes. They have been cornered. Even then they accuse others of hunger for power.

Had I been so hungry for power I would not have left the Government. I did not leave the Government for reasons of health. I was not sick. Had I been power-hungry, I would have gone along with the Government's policies. I did not disgrace myself, and preferred to leave office.

We do not know who actually is ruling the 100 million people of Pakistan. As to who takes important decisions, nobody knows. As for the 80,000 Basic Democrats, they have been secretly coming to us to say that they will vote for us. And these members of National and Provincial Assemblies, who have now come to know the 'malady' with which the country is afflicted, volunteered to take oaths on the Quran that they will vote for us. You can even ask the Government servants in uniform. No one can claim monopoly over the people. They are with us. They hate the Government, because the Government hates them. Don't be disappointed. Troubles there will be. We will face these troubles. We shall prevail.

A New Class of Landlords
Address at Larkana Bar Association,
March 12, 1968

As a Minister I once addressed the Larkana Bar Association. And on that occasion, a number of questions were asked by its members. I remember all of them. That is because I have a good memory.

A good memory is both a blessing and a curse. It is a blessing for students who want to memorise their lessons and, without understanding them, write them down as answers to questions asked in examinations. But it is also a curse because it makes it difficult to forget. There is a saying: forgive and forget. You can forgive, but how can you forget if you have a good memory?

I remember my last appearance here very well. I remember the questions that were asked, the people who asked them and the manner in which they were asked. And I come here again, today, in an entirely different situation. But even when I was here last you will have noticed that there was no arrogance in my manner or tone. I say this because throughout my career as a Minister, which was longer than those who are twice my age and have been Ministers in several Cabinets, I have regarded myself as one of you.

During that period there were many things said against this Government which is presently ruling Pakistan, a Government of which I was a member till about two years ago. Much was said about its dictator and about its dictatorial methods and nature. Many important members of your own Bar Association expressed their concern at the deterioration in our national life and were critical of the conditions that were causing this deterioration.

I hope you will bear me out when I say that at no stage during that period did I interfere with the judiciary or with any bar association.

No judge of this district can say that I ever asked him to meet me in my office or to call on me at my residence. I remember a judge once wanted to see me and I told him that I did not think it would be proper for him to come and call on me, because that was liable to be misunderstood. No advocate or any judge or magistrate can say that during my tenure as Minister, I interfered with the judiciary or in matters relating to the bar associations. I say this as a challenge. Is there anyone who can lead evidence to the contrary?

I know how different things are today. I know how members of the Bar are intimidated, summoned to the residences of officials and threatened, and how judges are told to adopt a certain point of view and to deliver judgements predetermined for them. What I am saying is not contempt of court. Some of you may think otherwise, but in my view this is not contempt of court. However, even if it is contempt of court, I think that in the present context truth is more important.

Mistakes can be made by anyone. I have made mistakes. Only those who regard themselves as infallible, who think that they are always right, who can justify each and every action of theirs can claim that they have never committed mistakes. They cannot be human. I do not belong to that category. I say that life is a continuous process of learning and mistakes are important lessons chalked on the blackboard of our experience, an experience which extends from childhood, through school, college and university to adult life. There is only a difference at various stages in the form and the procedure of learning. There is always a teacher and there are always those who are taught. There are always examinations which may not be held every six months or every year as they are held in schools and colleges, but in life there are tests all the time, no matter what position you may reach in life. And in these tests all the answers cannot always be right, if it is human beings we are talking about. Who else? Computers are not addicted to politics.

I am not here to argue that I was always right or to rationalize my mistakes. That I leave for those who think they are so wise and capable that they can commit no errors; that when they are thrown out by changes, they must preach against and curse those changes; and when fortune again smiles on them, they should forget the long past in which they have done nothing but to criticize.

I am asked very often by these gentlemen, who commit no mistakes, how it is possible that I was eight years in the Government and why I am now against the Government. I have already said that human beings are capable of making mistakes and I hope they concede that I am a human being. But I would like to ask what right have these individuals to ask this question? Changes in established systems come through two means: through a revolution or a coup d'etat.

A revolution takes place when there is some basic objective of economic and political betterment, to change the condition of the people, the pattern of their existence. This happened in the Soviet Union, where the people seized power to change the entire system and to bring about a new order. In China, there was a revolution; in France, there was a revolution. But, there are coups d'etat also. Those who bring off coups usually also claim that they are revolutionaries. But only time can tell whether the change was for personal power and personal aggrandisement or for a social change to improve the lot of the people. There is one common factor to be found in most revolutions and coups and that is that their leaders do at some stage develop differences and part company. This may not have happened in some minor revolution or coup but in the important ones this does happen at some point of time. But it has never happened, except here in Pakistan, that those who were ousted by such changes have later been brought into the ranks of leadership in the Government.

These people ask me how can I criticise a Government whose member I was for eight years? In turn I want to ask them how is it that they who were discredited, thrown out, abused, cursed, jailed, disqualified and condemned by the Government should now come into the service of that Government? This is the irony of the situation. I was not insulted or humiliated like them. I was not kicked in the pants. My nose was not rubbed in the dust. I was not abused and called a shark and a monster and all sorts of things. I was not one of those who had to run from one army official to another, trying to file replies to FBDO charges to prevent themselves from being disqualified from holding office in any elected body. I left in honour. When I left, the President of Pakistan was compelled to say that he wished me well and that I had served the country well.

I do not believe in rancour and bitterness or in a negative approach to politics. I believe in a positive approach. I believe in being broad-minded and not letting personal considerations influence political decisions. And it is for this reason that I have not so far revealed so many things that have happened. But if lies are spoken about me, I should, at least, have the right to speak the truth.

For this reason I must tell you, gentlemen, most emphatically, that at no stage, since I left the Government, have I ever approached the Government for a compromise or for any negotiation. Whoever says that I have sought a compromise is a liar. The Government itself has approached me on a number of occasions and it is in Larkana that I am making this revelation for the first time. I have not spoken on this subject before, but I have been compelled to do so now because of the lies that are being uttered about me. I have got evidence and proof that on many occasions close associates and relatives of the President have come to me for a compromise; I have not taken a single step to have any compromise with the Government. And those who speak lies about this have not brought credit to the Government, because I have been silent. I believe in clean politics. But my opponents want to drag people to their level of politics, the sort of politics that ended in the forties and the fifties. This is the trouble with these

people who are now active in the politics of our country. They forget that their methods and their ways went out of fashion with the forties and fifties. Since they have not kept pace with time they are using political tactics of a generation ago. Time and political developments have not changed their mentality. Because they cannot change now they cannot improve. But the world has made progress and marched on. Man is going to land on the moon. There has been a Vietnam. New horizons and new vistas have opened. The old politicians have missed the bus. They think they can have it stopped and force their way in. But will the other passengers understand what they say? The idiom has changed, the situation has changed, the problems have changed.

These old-timers will be of little use to the Government; neither as friends nor as masters! They are actually damaging their own cause, if it can be called a cause, by stooping so low as to disgust the people. I cannot reply to all that was said at Dadu because I do not wish to lower myself to that level. But I would like to give a clear warning to the Government that if these people continue in this vein, then I will have to come out with facts that will embarrass the Government. I shall mention dates and occasions, and when, where and who have approached me to come to an understanding with the Government. If they press me too much, I shall have to give an account to the people of Pakistan.

I would like to say something about the Head of the Provincial Government. He is after all an important man. He is the Governor of a province and I am only an ordinary citizen, coming from an ordinary place, where only my friends gather to hear me. But I would like to tell this gentleman that he also should not be reckless and say things that are not correct. I know that he holds high office and that I am an ordinary citizen but I also know that it was I who approved his selection as Ambassador to Iran. It is not dignified for a Head of a Provincial Government to disapprove of a political leader simply because he is small in size. And, incidentally, this political leader does not belong to the People's Party. Is this the way that this Governor should talk from Khyber to

Karachi? Is height the only thing that matters? The remark was in bad taste. The Governor may have power and authority but these don't last for ever. And, as for people who are not tall, the Vietnamese have shown what they can do. I say to this former Army Chief, "Learn from the lesson of Vietnam, from what little men have done in fighting the giant Marines, from the performance of little men without shoes, with hardly any clothes or weapons, against the well-equipped Americans. What made the difference was the strength of their conviction and their belief in the righteousness of their cause."

These lessons are so elementary that they should not be forgotten so easily. I remember that after the September war, the Governor went to Sargodha and he saw Squadron Leader Alam. When he came back he said "I saw Alam. Alam was so short. He was only so high. I said to Alam, you are so short, so small." And he was told not to talk like that. But these people just forget. Such are the people who are ruling this country—clowns and charlatans.

They have alienated the whole of Pakistan. There is not a single section of the people of Pakistan which stands by them. Not a single section. Take the students. They are up in arms. I have not misled the students. Why should I mislead the students? They are the future of our country. They are the ones who are to take over the responsibilities of the brave new world. I have no desire to mislead them. The youth of Pakistan has been estranged, because of the way they have been treated by the Government. They have chained them with University Ordinances. The Government is destroying not only what is today, but the tomorrow as well. And that is why the youth of Pakistan is against the Government. The legal profession stands hostile. It stands hostile, because laws are being tampered with; archaic laws are being revived. The farmer is estranged because agricultural lands are being given to people who do not know the difference between a stalk of wheat and a Burmah cheroot.

Absentee landlords are now being recruited from the civil service; they are being given new lands which should be given to the tillers of the soil. The Government should first give the land to the local cultivators and peasants. If surplus land is available, then it should be given to peasants from other parts of the country. But a new class of squires should not be created. And what happens? Civil servants of high rank, like Members of the Board of Revenue, Chief Secretaries and Commissioners, are given vast areas of lands. And then who looks after those lands? The Mukhtiarkars and the Deputy Collectors who then give top priority to pleasing their superiors and neglect their own duties. The administration suffers. First of all, it is wrong to create this new class of absentee landlords, who own lands and live thousands of miles away—in Washington, New York or Paris, as ambassadors. Some work in the Secretariat in Lahore. The basic objection is the same. They know nothing about their lands. So they ask their colleagues and juniors in the districts, "Please look after my lands."

The process then begins. The Commissioner tells the Deputy Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner tells the Deputy Collector and the Deputy Collector tells the Mukhtiarkar. And in this way the administration is destroyed. This creation of a new class of zamindars is wrong. The Government says that it wants to curtail landlordism and that it has brought about land reforms but at the same time it creates a new class of absentee landlords, who do not look after the lands themselves and who misuse the administrative machinery by making the local officials look after their lands. And what is the result? For them there are no mishaps. No pests attack their crops nor are they affected by floods or rains or by water-logging or salinity. They have already calculated their returns and the local officials see to it that these expectations are fulfilled—come what may. The shortfall has to be made good. What this practice does to the administration I leave to your imagination. How effectively can the administration, so burdened with extra-curricular responsibilities, deal with crime? When the priorities of the senior officers are for personal profit, how can they control their subordinates?

Half of Islamabad belongs to the begums of civil servants. They build palatial mansions and lease them out to the embassies of foreign countries. How then can you have an independent foreign policy? Much of Islamabad belongs to the officers of the Pakistan Foreign Service. They rent their houses to the embassies. Many embassies know how to choose and oblige P.F.S, officers.

Please search your hearts and tell me: are members of the legal profession satisfied with the prevailing conditions; are the farmers satisfied; are the labourers satisfied? Who is satisfied—the refugee from India, the Punjabi, the Baluchi, the Sindhi, the Pathan, the Bengali? The Government today is isolated and it has alienated each and every segment of society and each and every part of the country. How long can this go on? The President has been talking about the stability of the country. Where is that stability? When the health of the President fails, where does that stability go? For two months he is ill, and who takes the decisions? Where are the institutions which provide for genuine stability? This is not the way stability is given to the people.

Corruption has increased. Lawlessness has increased. Crime has increased. Prices of commodities have increased. Black marketing has increased. Smuggling has increased. Interference in the administration has increased. Interference in the judiciary has increased. Everywhere there is contamination. Everywhere there is chaos and trouble.

A local Minister says that the price of wheat in Pakistan is less than the price of wheat in India. But why is that so? When people in India ask as to why the prices are going up, they are told that the prices are going up because they have to increase their defence budget. In India, they have an answer for the rise of prices. They have told their people that "Whether you like it or not, we require to expand our defence budget." And the defence budget of India has gone up rapidly. But in our country we have reduced our defence budget. Why then have

prices gone up? What is the justification? Is there an emergency? There cannot be because we are making overtures and gestures to India and the Finance Minister says, "We are reducing our defence budget and we hope that India will reciprocate." India has reciprocated by increasing its defence budget. So then there is no justification for you to compare the prices of wheat in Pakistan with the prices of wheat in India.

These are the illogical aspects and the absurdities of the present Government. Now you may say, "What can we do? After all it is the Government and we have to consider our future, for tomorrow we may be asked by the authorities why we attended Mr. Bhutto's dinner, why we met him." Is this an important consideration in the present day and age? If, after twenty years of Independence, we still think in those terms, then I am afraid that we can make no progress. I can tell you that harassment is more a state of the mind than a physical difficulty. Once you are prepared to face harassment and difficulties, you will find that there is no real difficulty involved. And the administration which threatens you is really a paper tiger. It is not even that. It is a tissue-paper tiger.

So you must not take into account these attempts at intimidation. They are only threats which cannot materialise if you are united and organised. Remove the clouds of fear from your minds. Fight for the right cause. Do you think that I am not made to suffer? You do not know the troubles and problems that are being placed in my way—the mean and despicable things that are being done. It makes a difference. But still I am there. Soon these will be things of the past. So, actually, this kind of intimidation is only a balloon. Your resistance will cause it to burst. There is no cause at all for fear. And I am not saying this because the People's Party is going to come into power. Our main purpose is not to come into power. Our purpose is to serve the people. But you can take it from me that this Government cannot last not after the blunders it has committed and the situation it has created for itself. It has sown the seeds of its own destruction and is

helping them grow into a bumper harvest by adding doses of fertilizer with each reckless act of tyranny and corruption.

There is a limit to the control of subjective authority without a political purpose and without a political objective. I would like to ask the Government, "What is their political objective? What are their plans to help the common man?" If the Government can answer that, they will have answered a great many associated questions as well. But it cannot. It is a regime of an individual, meant for some individuals, but not at all for the people of Pakistan. In no field, in no activity, is the commonweal ever taken into account by this Government. That is why it is inevitable, the way things are proceeding, that a change must come.

But, at the same time, it is no use saying, "You were right. The change has come", when it does come. All of you have to play a part. Everyone has to play a part. If you are satisfied with the present state of affairs, then help the Government stay in power. But if you are not satisfied, if you feel that violence, crime, corruption, and the regime's use of the administrative machinery to perpetuate itself is increasing, then it is your duty also to bear some burden and take part in the struggle against the regime. You cannot sit on the fence, wait for someone else to come to power and rush to garland him. Those days are gone. A change has come in the life of the nation, in the mentality of the people. If you want to improve conditions, then you cannot go back to the same people and to the system that has brought things to such a pass.

The evils of the present system are like a cancer in our body politic. It cannot be cured by a few doses of medicine. It is a sort of cancer that has to be removed by surgery. Major changes and reforms are necessary, if our nation is to survive. We believe that ours is a great nation. It has got many resources. But we have to put an end to corruption and smuggling, we have to take care of the interests of the common people, we have to make the judiciary independent and fearless, we have to ensure that universities really become centres of knowledge,

we have to provide fair wages to our labour, and we have to properly plan our agricultural and industrial development. If we can do all this, then we shall not fail. Our potential is great and we are bound to succeed. This country is big enough for everyone to be accommodated and for everyone's rights to be recognised. There should be no conflict between our people over their rights.

You will agree that all issues should be determined in a democratic manner on the basis of equality. When I say that we must determine all constitutional and political issues on the basis of the wishes of the people, I am not evading any question. Because this is the only way in which we can decide fundamental matters. They cannot be left to a few unrepresentative- people to decide. We must end dictatorial methods. We should have a truly democratic system. No person's vote should be more important than that of each of the other hundred million people. It is the people who should take decisions. Because the present system ignores the people and their views the nation is beset with so many problems. That is the cause of the tension. The people must be consulted. They must decide whether they want a parliamentary or a presidential form of Government. Because both can be democratic or dictatorial. It is for the people to take a close look at the substance of the various proposals that are presented to them and not be carried away by labels and slogans.

My colleagues and I have launched a new party to put before you a new blueprint for the future. This will be based on principles, not on an individual's whims. Individuals can fail but principles, if they are based on the peoples interests, cannot fail. We are bound to succeed, because our principles are right. So, please give more thought to these problems and see what you can do to assist. This is not my struggle. This is not any individual's struggle. I am not the only person involved. I have taken up the challenge, because it is the people's struggle. I would not have taken up the struggle, if the people's future were not involved, if the destinies of our future generation were not involved.

But a time comes when you must cry halt. And, finally, I would like to say that I was asked again to answer the question why I was eight years in the Government and why I am now criticising it. I will say that, some time after I joined the Government, it began to smell. When it began to stink, I could not tolerate it and left. And those who were out when it was merely smelling are now rushing in to inhale the stink.

Political Situation in Pakistan

A Pamphlet April, 1968

Since the birth of Pakistan every government has appealed for national unity. Pakistan has run into crisis after crisis, each graver than the preceding, and unity has eluded us despite all the fervent appeals made. There must be serious reasons why crises should exist in abundance and not unity. These reasons need to be examined.

Our country has been threatened by two sorts of crises—a general one affecting the world, but particularly Asia; and the other casting its gloom over the subcontinent. There is an obvious connection between them. Of whatever sort the crisis may be and whether simple or manifold, the situation has to be understood properly.

The world in which we live is moving towards a culmination which might be a universal catastrophe. It will not be just another Dien Bien Phu. This is the difference between Dien Bien Phu and the present crisis, between 1954 and 1968. We are on the edge of a precipice. Below lies the valley of death. Must we let ourselves fall into it consciously by marching ahead to disaster or should we not draw back? There is no alternative but to pun pach This does not entail a loss of prestige. It only saves this beautiful world from senseless destruction.

Pakistan is caught in a whirlwind. As we look back on the twenty years of our existence, we find a dangerous tendency for international and subcontinental problems to get fused together. To maintain the view that crisis is the order of the day, a natural phenomenon of this restless age, is pointless. The prevailing demoniacal trend requires to be reversed.

Ours is not the only country caught in the vicious circle of crises. Many countries have been able to settle similar problems and move on with added

strength to other matters. The strength to move forward comes from the resolution of basic internal issues. Unlike many other countries, Pakistan has unfortunately, not yet been able to resolve many of its basic internal problems — issues affecting the people, their destiny, the lives of their children and the future shape of their society. The problems which affect the people and are near to them have never really been referred to them for settlement. Mahomed Ali Jinnah pledged that Pakistan would have a government and a constitution chosen by the people. That promise has yet to be redeemed.

There will be no end to our troubles until the people of the country determine their future freely. The present deadlock can no longer be broken by more manipulations. The next step has to be taken unburdened by past errors.

Out of the welter of confusion a crystallisation is taking place. A growing body of people, with the younger generation at their head, believe that the old ways are no longer sufficient to surmount the problems of Pakistan. Each epoch has its own political significance; its own seismic pattern. This epoch, exciting and full of challenge, requires a fresh approach for building society anew on the finest aspirations of the entire population of Pakistan. We are not prepared to return to the past. Nor are the people willing to tolerate the present conditions much longer. For this reason, the Pakistan People's Party declares: "All power to the people!"

It is imperative to resolve internal differences by consensus and consent. The long debate on the form of government and the constitution must be brought to an end. The wisdom of the people cannot be questioned in this age of enlightenment. Pakistan has seen many experiments in government and constitution. Their collective wisdom, enriched by the experience of twenty years, makes the people pre-eminently fit for deciding their own fate.

Quite clearly, Basic Democracy, which is another name for fascism, will not do. Independent institutions are needed, capable of outlasting their creators and resisting capture by individuals lusting for power and avid for money. They must so function as to inspire confidence, which means that they must protect the rights of society against the exercise of arbitrary power. The law must function as an instrument of the people and not as a shield protecting an unjust status quo. The people when they come into their own, will build a just society out of the existing shambles. They will create a free fraternity of equal men and women, the fulfilment of their ideals.

The people of Pakistan alone must decide, for good and bad, whether the state should be federal or unitary; what should be the relation of the two wings with the centre and with one another; whether regions should enjoy autonomy; whether the form of government should be parliamentary or presidential or one combining features of both. The federal and the unitary forms are both compatible with democracy, and the same can be said of the presidential and the parliamentary systems. This is all the more reason why the views of the people must be ascertained on issues to which answers cannot be deduced by debates on abstract principles. The legislative assemblies must be elected directly by the adult population entitled to vote and not by electoral colleges. The system of indirect elections lends itself most readily to the exercise of coercion and corruption. It is impossible to browbeat a whole population, though it is comparatively easy to influence individuals comprising an electoral college by menaces or favours. The right to vote must be exercisable unhindered and not limited by property or educational qualifications and it should be open to both sexes.

In an environment of freedom, the people will be unhindered in exercising their best judgement. The individual and collective rights of the people require to be recognised constitutionally. It is a slave society where civil liberties do not exist or exist only in name. Fundamental rights, brought into the constitution by

accident, have been abrogated by design. The war which lasted for about 17 days was over in 1965. It was followed by the Tashkent Declaration and by a reduction in the expenditure on defence in the budget of 1967-68. With the recent indications of a new turn in our relations with India, allowing for the construction of a step-by-step ladder to amity, there remains no reasonable justification to maintain the Defence of Pakistan Rules.

Instead of exposing abuse of power, the cancerous growth of corruption and open-door smuggling among other evils a curtain of ignorance has been drawn between the people and the reality. Crime and violence are increasing menacingly. Corruption has reached a peak. The ordinary man is unable to earn sufficient wages to afford a decent livelihood. The burden of taxation grows, telling heavily on the middle-classes. Not much different from the conditions of the Kuomintang regime of China, a marriage has taken place between the industrialists and the bureaucracy to share economic and political power. Life in the villages has become unsafe. The worst sort of ghetto conditions prevail in the cities, and slum areas are spreading far and wide. Affecting the health and hygiene of the people. Hospitals are unable to provide treatment for the graver diseases. Spurious drugs that put an immediate end to their lives are administered to the sick. Racketeers, who fearlessly adulterate food and swell their ill-gotten wealth by blackmarketing goods, have lost fear of punishment. The operation of the public transport system is scandalous. Accidents are so frequent that the highways have become death-alleys. Trains are held up in broad daylight and passengers robbed whilst regular gun battles rage for hours between dacoits and the police. The riverain and forest tracts have become haunts of gangsters. Simple young boys are forced or enticed into slave labour camps which abound in the countryside near town settlements. Witnesses are murdered in the precincts of courts of law in large cities like Lahore. Members of the Legislative Assemblies are assaulted and shot at, but the miscreants escape undetected.

The press is in chains and the printed word is in disgrace. Political leaders are victimised and political parties suppressed. Abusive language is employed against those who fought for Pakistan and those who defended Pakistan's honour in its gravest hour. There is no right to strike and no solace for the poor. The working classes are bled to fill the bank vaults of the new industrialist class. The law and order situation is crumbling under the heels of an oppressive bureaucracy which is taking an increasingly unsavoury part in politics. The legal structure has been tampered with to make confusion worse confounded.

The students have become the central butt of this Government. Our youth, in whom we repose all faith for the future, is distrusted. Oppressive ordinances have been promulgated to put in cage the flower of Pakistan's manhood. Degrees, that is, proof of the acquirement of knowledge which is inalienable, are taken away as forfeited—it is a dacoity on the mind, being officially committed. Instead of daring to trust the younger generation, the Government is suspicious of our students and fears this segment of the population more than any other.

Along with all the other freedoms academic freedom has been taken away. The universities are thus made subservient and deprived of autonomy. At this rate, in the end, it is the police alone that will dictate what is to be taught. If the Government, with all the control it exercises over propaganda, is unable to muster the support of the students, how can the students be misled by those who are denied access to them? The students form a community that is learning to think for itself and is, therefore, not easy to be led astray. The regime, being estranged from the people, is incapable of understanding the youth and the yearning of the people generally. Thus, this Government has disillusioned the present and lost the future generation.

Little wonder that the press has been muzzled and the opposition silenced. The Government's voice alone is that of truth, and it is spread nauseatingly by a Nazi-style propaganda in the controlled press, over the radio

and on the television. Turn in whatever direction you please and you will encounter dissatisfaction. The poor cannot much longer endure the growing burden of corruption, nepotism and lawlessness. The exploitation has reached a climax.

Civil liberties hold the key to our future happiness. It is the first essential in the many imperatives that will lead to a harmonisation of interests. All fundamental rights are important and stand or fall together. The structure of a free society rests collectively on all rights that are fundamental. Genuine freedom of speech cannot function genuinely without freedom of the press or without a proper opportunity for free association. The function of the press is to inform and not to misinform the public. Our press is being ordered to tell lies, to misinform and to slander. At present the press is paid to deceive, and punished if it does not. In the existing circumstances, it becomes the duty of the people of Pakistan to struggle for the restoration of the freedom of the press. If all democratic forces join hands in firm resolve, the people cannot lose. If, however, some members of the press think only of advertisements and the patronage of Government, it would mean a betrayal of their own cause. The choice has to be made between commerce and the cause. It is for the press to choose.

The present conditions must give way to a democratic dispensation in which the entire population participates, feels that it is doing so and takes pride in it. In the same sweep it is essential to restore fundamental rights and mobilise the people of Pakistan to build an egalitarian society serving the needs of the people and at their command. All power must pass to the people. This can be done only by democracy. That is why "democracy is our polity."

Democracy is essential but is not an end in itself. In the struggle to establish democracy we must never lose sight of the economic objectives, which remain paramount. Without economic progress a nation cannot find satisfaction in democracy alone. Democratic freedom is essential but economic equality and

justice are supremely important. Profound changes in national life cannot come without economic changes. Economic problems remain pivotal. Democracy must go hand-in-hand with enlightened socialism if the servitude of the people is to be ended. The limited resources of this overpopulated country are being wasted and the falling commodity prices in the international market diminish its capacity to purchase essentials from industrial countries. In such a situation socialism is the only answer to our economic problems. Socialism offers the only way to end exploitation and to foster unity. Unity will remain a slogan and an illusion until exploitation is ended.

We are on the brink of an economic catastrophe. A new class, small in number, of capitalist barons, is unabashedly plundering national wealth. The disparity between the rich and the poor keeps on growing. There are no anti-cartel or anti-monopolistic laws to prevent the abuse of privilege. There is not the slightest pretence of giving the system the appearance of humane capitalism, as is done by the more intelligent capitalist governments. Here, in Pakistan, there is only loot. On the pretext of encouraging private initiative, scandalous incentives are given to facilitate massive exploitation.

The country has not yet created an industrial base that can support itself. Not only is foreign aid required to build factories but it is also necessary for keeping these very factories going. Now that aid has been curtailed, Pakistan's industries grind to a halt or work one shift only. To get what foreign exchange it can, the regime has taken to subsidising exports. In the last analysis, the subsidy comes from agriculture and the industrial worker, who must pay correspondingly higher prices for his basic necessities.

It might be thought that foreign aid could rescue the nation, but there is no hope of that. The war of Vietnam and the mood in the United States Congress towards large foreign aid means that Pakistan must content itself with a few crumbs. Nor is it worthwhile receiving this kind of aid; for it is so unproductive that

the nation is being bled white to pay the debts it has incurred. Thus we have the sorry spectacle of a regime, that claims to be the most reliable one to which foreign aid can be entrusted, begging for a reduction of the rates of interest it has to pay and even suggesting that it should be permitted a moratorium on its repayments.

It is not only the higher rate of interest as such that makes the value of aid questionable. A good deal of aid comes in the form of commodity aid. Some years ago Government was not interested in wiping out the deficit in agricultural production. It chose instead to depend on the import of American wheat under P.L. 480. We are now paying dearly for that myopic policy. But commodity aid has also the disadvantage of being immediately consumed, which means that the future generations will have to repay for what they have not received.

The heavy burden on debt servicing added to the foreign exchange expenditure on essential imports including military equipment have driven the Government frantic. Indeed, so frantic has the regime become that it has suddenly turned away from industry to agriculture for a miracle and, behold, we have a miracle rice and a miracle wheat—a miracle for either Wing! The immediate outlook is bleak. With restricted foreign aid, inflation must enter. Already prices have risen faster than expected. From now on the pace must increase.

Only socialism, which creates equal opportunities for all, protects from exploitation, removes the barriers of class distinction, is capable of establishing economic and social justice. Socialism is the highest expression of democracy and its logical fulfilment. The range of socialism is as wide as conceivable. Apart from those that have undergone the process of revolution there are many countries, among them even constitutional monarchies, where socialist requirements have been progressively realised without violent changes. The universality of the precepts of socialism is essentially due to two reasons: first,

the basis of modern socialism is objective; second, socialist thinking is relevant to all countries in every part of the world in their actual economic and political condition. Socialism is, therefore, of direct interest to Pakistan, an underdeveloped country marked by internal and external exploitation.

In the scale of national wealth Pakistan stands at the lowest rung and there is nowhere else to be found an aggregate mass of human misery present in a similar area as that of Pakistan with its population of a hundred and twenty million. The region of the earth with the highest concentration of poverty is Pakistan. This stigma has to be wiped out by socialism. The immediate task would be to end predatory capitalism and to put socialism into motion. The means of production that are the generators of industrial advance or on which depend other industries must not be allowed to be vested in private hands. All enterprises that constitute the infra-structure of the national economy must be in public ownership.

The control of the essential means of production and of the medium of exchange by the people does not mean that the private sector will be eliminated. Private entrepreneurs will be permitted to play their own useful role, but will not be able to create monopolistic preserves. The private sector must flourish under conditions proper to private enterprise, namely, those of competition, and not under the shield of state protection such as at present.

Public ownership will not be allowed to degenerate into state capitalism. The workers will be encouraged to participate in the efficient running of the factories by appropriate incentives. Along with nationalisation, steps will be undertaken to improve the condition of the wage-earners by providing for proper housing, recreation, health of the worker and his family, education of the children, and by any other ways that may help to raise his standard of living and cultural level. Conditions vary from place to place. The socialism applicable to Pakistan would be in conformity with its ideology and remain democratic in nature. There

will be no foreign dictation. If there can be a Scandinavian form of socialism, there is no reason why there cannot be a Pakistani form of socialism suitable to our genius. "Socialism is our economy" because without socialism we shall not be able to attain genuine equality and unity, which are all the more precious to a nation geographically divided in two parts.

Islam and the principles of socialism are not mutually repugnant. Islam preaches equality and socialism is the modern technique of attaining it. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, Pakistan's great poet-philosopher, dreamed of Pakistan as an Islamic state having a socialist system. Only a part of his dream has come true. Pakistan is a Muslim state but its piratical form of capitalism, which has wrought havoc upon the people, is a violation of Islamic tenets. The Founder of Pakistan, Mahomed Ali Jinnah, declared on more than one occasion that Pakistan would be an Islamic state with a socialist form of "government. In a speech in Delhi in April 1943, the Quaid visualised Pakistan as having 'a People's Government' and warned 'landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked, which makes men so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them... the constitution and the government will be what the people will decide.'

"Islam is our faith," and it is the basis of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot last without the supremacy of Islam. A socialist form of government does not rival that supremacy. On the contrary, socialism will make the whole population the custodian of Islamic values. By entrusting responsibility to a handful of capitalists, whom the Father of the Nation called 'men so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them', we are exposing the ideology of Pakistan to foreign influences. The entire population of Pakistan cannot be purchased by foreign powers. Only the vested interests having a common interest with foreign capital are susceptible to control by foreign powers. Indeed, they are the creatures of foreign powers. The hidden hand working through its agents has moved mercilessly in many underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Pakistan is not an

exception. Foreign influence has been allowed to spread far and wide into Pakistan and, on a number of occasions, vital national interests have been compromised under foreign pressure. This must stop and it can only when the people take control. The entire population cannot be bribed or become a foreign agent. Thus, the Islamic ideology of this nation can be best preserved by the people of Pakistan and not by a handful of industrialists whose factories run on annual foreign subsidies.

Objective study shows that there is no conflict between Islam and socialism. If there were any incompatibility, neither the poet-philosopher of Pakistan nor its Founder would have advocated socialism. Their views are on record, and there is no point in joining issues with rootless individuals who, under the shelter of this Government, have had the audacity to contradict the Father of the Nation.

The call to unity made by every government has been progressively defied, so much so indeed that the present Government has begun to unearth conspiracies striking at the root of national unity. Why should this be so when the struggle for Pakistan was waged unitedly by the Muslims of the sub-continent? At its birth the unity of Pakistan was the envy of other countries. Why has this magnificent unity been evaporating? Why is the brotherhood of Islam, which forms the basis of our unity, threatened? Everything is falling apart because under the present system the people are not trusted. Their rights have been abrogated and their views are not sought on any question affecting their fate. The gulf between the people and Government is widening.

Class exploitation of the people is weakening national unity and creating severe tensions throughout the country. The unity of Pakistan cannot be preserved merely by exhortations nor by Presidential order. For all these and many more connected reasons, the differences among the people are escalating. In every way the situation is going from bad to worse, but the relations between East and West Pakistan have reached a critical point. During February, 1968, a

Central Minister from Bengal analysed the causes of the trouble. Astonishingly, he found the reasons for the dissatisfaction in the use of defective text books which, he alleged, are misleading the younger generation. As if Pakistan were a passing phenomenon, this Minister admonished the youth for having forgotten the hardships of the generation that suffered under the British and the Congress. The Minister should have known that the causes of the trouble lie much deeper. Most certainly they lie not in defective text books nor in the short memory of our people. An ideology lives for ever and the ideology of Pakistan based on justice and equality is not a transitory factor kept alive only in the memory of those who have lived under foreign domination.

Much more than memory of the past sufferings disappears when the spirit of freedom is replaced by a new form of serfdom. The conditions prevailing in every part of the country require to be vastly improved, most of all in the eastern wing.

Pakistan is one nation, an indivisible whole. The division by geography does not divide the nation. No part of it has precedence over the other, for all are equal. Pakistan was cast in one piece at one and the same time. Neither of the geographical parts has the right to the name of Pakistan to the exclusion of the other. The people of both wings have suffered and sacrificed much for the sake of freedom, for the sake of Pakistan. If West Pakistan has been deprived of extensive regions by the unjust Radcliffe decision, so has East Pakistan been deprived of its territories. All their vital interests are common and unity will return if all parts are administered with democratic equality.

The unity of Pakistan will come when the people are given their political rights, including economic equality. The greater the exploitation, the more precarious will become the nation's unity. The sooner exploitation is ended, the sooner will unity emerge. These fine people with a rich and noble heritage will

unite again as in the past, provided their rights are restored to them. It is for this reason that the Pakistan People's Party resolutely proclaims that:

"Islam is our faith"

"Democracy is our polity"

"Socialism is our economy"

"All power to the people"

Sustained by these four pillars, Pakistan will be a Strong edifice and well protected. All forms of subversion, both internal and external, will cease when these principles are applied. Under their banner Pakistan will redeem the pledge made to the Muslims of the subcontinent and emancipate the people of Jammu and Kashmir from Indian bondage.

The foreign policy of Pakistan has seen many storms. It has been built on many illusions. Pakistan has allowed itself to be left behind by events. At times we have dung to untenable notions fanatically and lightly abandoned sound ones. We have experienced one disillusionment after another, and failure upon failure. Swinging from one reach to the other, from bellicosity to submission from arrogance to humiliation from zeal to inertia, Pakistan's foreign policy has fallen victim to frustration and despair. In the process, two wars have been fought without the attainment of national objectives and contradictory alliances forged without the solution of disputes. Neither the interests of economic self-reliance nor of security have been served.

In the first flush of independence, when our leadership trod new ground by entering the domain of foreign relations after its denial by colonialism for over a hundred and fifty years, many irrational things were done. In the beginning Britain and the Commonwealth were treated as being of primordial importance, since it was not understood that Britain's influence was waning and that the Commonwealth was a subterfuge meant only to prop up Britain's tottering prestige. When it at long last dawned upon our leadership that there was a

change in the power structure, the course was sharply turned towards the United States of America, of which Pakistan made itself a vassal in haste. Finding anchorage in an alliance, we felt overjoyed. It was believed that all our problems would be swiftly resolved by the touch of this great power.

At one time, without considering all the implications of foreign relations, a senile politician ineptly proposed "Islamistan" and caused unnecessary misunderstanding in the minds of Arab nations and of Indonesia, Turkey and Iran. On the one hand, "Islamistan" was preached and, on the other a Prime Minister of Pakistan derided Muslim unity, which he said meant the addition of zero to zero. Heaping insult upon injury. Pakistan entered into military alliances which the Arab states and other important non-aligned states considered inimical to them. By entering these alliances Pakistan surrendered a part of its sovereign rights, alienated Muslim nations and the Third World generally. It also incurred the wrath of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the two powerful giants embracing our northern frontiers.

The foreign policy of a government that called for joint defence with India in 1959 found itself at war with that country in 1965. At one time Pakistan's foreign policy unblushingly conceded extra-territorial rights to the United States and pursued provocative policies towards the other great powers, but later it made such a great discovery of our geographical location as to start demanding cordial relations with the neighbouring great powers. There was much talk of fraternity with Iran and yet hesitation on the subject of the Persian Gulf's being called by the name it has been known by for centuries. Relations with Afghanistan were severed, but later on Afghanistan was called a 'blood brother.' Following a policy riddled with shocking con-tradictions, Pakistan was driven to a position of isolation.

In the grand alliance forged with the United States. Pakistan proceeded on one premise and the United States on quite another. The United States wanted

the encirclement of the Communist states, not of India. Pakistan, on the other hand, thought that the alliances would be a bulwark against India, a myth which the war of 1965 destroyed beyond repair.

Fantastic advances in military science—the launching of sputniks, the attainment of a balance of nuclear terror and other events of momentous significance which caused rethinking of their basic policies by every nation—escaped unnoticed by Pakistan. Whilst other nations made adjustments to accommodate themselves to the changes, Pakistan remained blissfully oblivious to them. Although the era of John Foster Dulles was ending before his death, Pakistan instead of adjusting itself to the changes, clung to its attachment to the United States and suffered the pangs of a jilted romance. Pakistan got itself caught in the jaws of a nutcracker from which it has not been able to extricate itself to this day.

Little is done to resist foreign demands. What is the good of economic or any other aid if Pakistan's sovereignty is to be bartered away in the bargain? Those who tried to resist the United States' pressures demanding Pakistan's subordination to India and the abandonment of its just claims on Jammu and Kashmir were accused of creating complications in Pakistan's relations with the United States. Time will prove that the policy of capitulation is leading the nation to a point from which there is no return. Normalisation of relations with all the great powers is not attained by becoming a satellite of one of them but by refusing to become the satellite of any of them.

The Government pledges that it will not take any steps in the interest of one great power that would be directed against the interest of other great powers and yet it remains in SEATO and CENTO. It continues to indulge in blatant contradictions by granting facilities to one great power on its territory which the others regard as being hostile to them. This it does in spite of the fact that the United States has terminated all military assistance. Pakistan is thus committed

to a gratuitous obligation which, in the event of a world war, might reduce the country to ashes. These are appalling risks.

Pakistan remains committed to the United States without a quid pro quo, yet the Government proclaims a strange kind of neutrality in its relations with the three great powers. We make declarations on bilateral relations and remain pledged to an extreme form of multilateralism. The Sino-Indian conflict opened the eyes of our rulers to the geographical situation of our country. They have at last discovered the truth that foreign policy must take account of geographical facts and Pakistan should be on good terms with as many neighbouring countries as possible, especially when it has a serious disagreement with one of them. But for well over a decade Pakistan has had estranged relations with India, for which there are good reasons, with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Until recently, our relations with Burma were not satisfactory and we had no contacts with Nepal. A country that has suddenly woken up to the imperatives of geography, was on inimical or non-existent terms with all its territorial neighbors, two of whom are great powers.

Pakistan does not have any disputes with the Soviet Union and the people's Republic of China and yet we outclassed even the United States' NATO allies, including Britain and Germany, in our ability to provoke the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China. India, which was genuinely non-aligned under Nehru, received as much, if not more, economic assistance and food supplies as aligned Pakistan.

Pakistan's policy of complete attachment to the United States was to a considerable extent responsible for the Soviet Union's consistent partiality towards India. In spite of the fact that the principle of self-determination and India's pledges were at stake, the Soviet Union supported India's untenable position on Jammu and Kashmir. Following Pakistan's developing relations with

China in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian conflict, some small signs of a better attitude of the Soviet Union towards Pakistan were discernible.

Now that there has been a freeze in Pakistan-China relations, the Soviet Union has deemed it safe to openly return to its traditional policy and restore military assistance to India without any fear of reaction from China. A great deal of fuss was made in the controlled press of Pakistan over the Soviet decision to strengthen the war arsenal of India. The ubiquitous spokesman of the Foreign Office expressed his surprise and concern. According to him and all those who joined the chorus of lament, the Soviet assistance would further widen the military imbalance in the subcontinent and it was against the spirit of Tashkent.

There is no doubt that the increase in India's military strength will further endanger Pakistan's security. Nobody can disagree with that. There is room for anxiety and perhaps disappointment but not for surprise. The Foreign Office felt surprised because it has forgotten how to make proper appraisals. The Tashkent Declaration involves non-aligned India and an aligned Pakistan that has lost its military support from the United States and a measure of political support from China.

The Soviet Union continues to maintain its preference for India. There is every reason for it to strengthen its friendship with that country. Despite India's heavy dependence on the United States, to this day India has not conceded extra-territorial rights to any foreign power. In contrast, from the lime of its inception, for over a decade, Pakistan did not take one solitary step to improve its bad record of relationship with the Soviet Union. My oil agreement with USSR notwithstanding. Pakistan has not taken any significant, independent and timely step, based on merit and not forced by expediency, towards better understanding with its northern neighbours. Although some important developments have taken place in the last four years, Pakistan has not so much as even left the Commission on Korea as a minor gesture of its sincere intentions.

Whatever gesture the Soviet Union made towards Pakistan was chiefly motivated by China's growing relations with Pakistan and not in response to Pakistan's belated half measures forced by circumstances. The most important thing to remember is that the Soviet Union took some initiatives for an approach towards Pakistan, the most significant being that at Tashkent, not to downgrade the importance of India but to combat the influence of China in Pakistan.

The Soviet Union's decision to resume military assistance to India demonstrates how dangerously Pakistan is isolated today. It shows that the President's last visit to that country, over which the controlled press of Pakistan went into raptures, was a failure. Actually that visit exposed Pakistan's vulnerability. It was undertaken from a position of weakness. It was the third visit of the Head of State of Pakistan to the Soviet Union in two years without a reciprocal visit by the top leadership of the Soviet Union. The President of Pakistan went to Moscow to seek military assistance and, in return, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union visited New Delhi in January 1968 to bless India with massive military assistance. This happened because the President went to the Soviet Union after the United States had terminated military assistance to Pakistan. He went there after the relations with China had reached a saturation point. In such circumstances, no benefit could be expected. Time has shown that no benefit has accrued.

It is not possible to approve and reprove at the same time. Hardly had the din of protests against the Soviet military assistance to India died down when the Soviet Minister for Foreign Trade was accorded a warm welcome to Pakistan. The Soviet Foreign Trade Minister's visit, seen from the point of view of Pakistan's interest, was ill-conceived and ill-timed. It was undertaken in the wake of the Soviet decision to strengthen India's war potential. The willingness to equate commercial agreements with massive defence transactions does not augur well for the future. It showed how easy it is to hurt Pakistan and how

simple it is to please it. The visit exposed the hollowness of Pakistan's protests. Without the slightest difficulty, in the course of one, ordinary visit, the Soviet Union was able to satisfy Pakistan with a trivial commercial transaction to offset the massive military assistance rendered to India. In the circumstances, the only befitting thing would have been to request the Soviet Government to postpone the visit of its Minister until a more congenial climate had been created. That would have been an honourable stand and its lesson would not have been lost on the Soviet Union. It would have given credibility to the protests. After all, twenty years have passed and the steel mill is yet to be built. A few months' delay would not have brought the skies down.

Noting the signs of Pakistan Government's weakening resolve and secure in the knowledge that Pakistan had been reconciled to the blow of resumed military assistance to India, the Soviet Prime Minister suddenly decided to accept an oft-repeated invitation of two years' standing to visit Pakistan in April, 1968. In spite of the illness of the President from which he was recuperating after being bed-ridden for over two months, long discussions took place at Rawalpindi between the President and the Soviet Prime Minister on the world situation, with emphasis on Soviet-Pakistan relations and Indo-Pakistan affairs. In a television interview at Islamabad, a stone's throw from the trouble-torn Kashmir border, Mr. Kosygin listed Germany, Middle East and Vietnam as the three international points of tension requiring world attention. There were premises of collaboration in all except the military field. Much satisfaction was expressed over the agreements to expand economic and cultural co-operation. The silence on military co-operation was serious but not nearly as ominous as the political result of the visit which showed the Soviet Union's resolve to enforce its well-known views on Indo-Pakistan relations. This was the meaning of the television interview and the message of all the other important pronouncements of Mr. Kosygin. Pakistan responded with such serene understanding that the Soviet Prime Minister made an unscheduled visit to New Delhi in order to assure India publicly that Pakistan was now prepared to open a new chapter of relations with

that country by resolving mutual differences on a step-by-step basis. As proof of our sincerity, a couple of days after the Soviet Prime Minister left Pakistan a new Foreign Minister was installed in office to implement the policy of reconciliation. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, a civil servant has been chosen for this high political office to implement a policy without fear of adverse political consequences. It appears that the turning point has been reached. There is something in the air resembling the early martial law days when in April 1959, barely six months after seizing power, President Ayub Khan offered joint defence to India. At that time Mr. Manzur Qadir, a brother-in-law of the newly appointed Foreign Minister and a person whose predilections towards India were well-known, was President Ayub Khan's Foreign Minister. Had Mr. Nehru not rejected the American sponsored scheme for joint defence, the partition would have been as good as undone. Much has happened in the intervening years to improve the chances of the new Foreign Minister's succeeding where Mr. Manzur Qadir failed. The revival of that spirit will now be stimulated by Sino-Indian differences and encouraged by that common point in the subcontinent where the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union meet.

The cumulative effect of all things done by the Government in the past two years has resulted in a decline in Pakistan's relations with the People's Republic of China. The difference in the tenor and temper of our existing relations does not escape the notice of independent observers. Obviously there is no break in our relations with China. Outwardly cordiality is maintained. Such are the ways of diplomacy. Foreign policy changes are often imperceptible. It is like a rose bud which opens slowly into a full flower. If there had not been an undercurrent of change, reports would not have flowed from London about the proposal of the Malaysian Prime Minister for a new anti-China defence pact involving Singapore, Indonesia, Thai-land, Philippines, Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan. This information appeared in the Dawn of February 11th, 1968. Whether true or not, such a proposal would not have entered the mind of the Malaysian Prime Minister during the halcyon days of Sino-Pakistan relations when China gave an

ultimatum to India in September 1965. Now the possibility enters the mind of the Tengku because, like other people, he has noticed the difference. Thus, no matter how strident the denials, a change has taken place. Things are clearly not what they used to be and that is not good for us.

It is bad because with or without Soviet or any other assistance to India, there will always be a quantitative military inequality in the sub-continent. The imbalance can grow or lessen, but it will remain because of the vast difference in the resources of the two countries. For this reason, Pakistan entered into alliances with the United States of America. Pakistan gambled to get committed in return for American military equipment required as a measure of protection against India. A backdoor was found for the entry of arms in order to reduce the imbalance. The United States will no longer give arms to Pakistan for the purpose of defence against India. Nor will the Soviet Union provide Pakistan with arms for defence against India.

As a token of its appreciation over Pakistan's agreement to change its attitude towards India, particularly on Kashmir, the Soviet Union might in the future provide Pakistan with some military assistance which will not be comparable to what India receives. It will be rendered for political reasons and not to strengthen Pakistan's security against India. Under certain conditions the United States might also restore military assistance, which in the altered situation in the subcontinent can be provided to Pakistan without any conflict with the United States' objectives in the subcontinent.

But neither the Soviet Union nor the United States will permit the imbalance to be reduced. The People's Republic of China is the only country which will be sympathetic to Pakistan's real requirements. This is so because that country's interests in the subcontinent coincide with those of Pakistan. It is strictly a question of mutuality of interests. If we look around us, the only great power whose objective interests coincide with Pakistan's and the only country capable

of assisting Pakistan is the People's Republic of China. That country alone is capable of reducing the imbalance, either by the supply of military equipment or by political means or both. It is the immediate neighbour of India and Pakistan and has a territorial dispute with India, which Pakistan cannot ignore. Pakistan will always need a plus- factor for coping with India. Whether the Government likes it or not, it so happens that that plus-factor is the People's Republic of China. If that factor is removed Pakistan will be at the mercy of all the three great powers and India. The tragedy will be all the greater because many significant developments of recent origin indicate that China is on the verge of breaking its isolation. With the change in the fortunes of the Vietnam war, the mood in the United States towards China is also undergoing a corresponding change. Vice-President Humphrey launched his election campaign by wanting to build bridges of peace between the United States and China. Governor Rockefeller expressed similar sentiments on entering the Presidential campaign.

Independent of the immediate considerations, this Government would be well advised to take active steps to restore the relationship with the People's Republic of China which was forged after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and which was strengthened during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict. China is a great power with increasing strength. It is an Asian country and an immediate neighbour of Pakistan. With the completion in the coming year of the Sinkiang-Gilgit road Pakistan will be once more linked with her historic hinterland of Central Asia and her strategic position will be vastly improved. India's grave concern over this road was expressed in strong protest notes and in a statement of her Minister of State for External Affairs in the Indian Parliament. As a sign of her apprehension India went to the extent of drawing the attention of the Soviet Union to this "new threat to her security." China's influence in Asia is bound to grow. It is a country whose objective interests coincide with Pakistan's and whose assistance to Pakistan in all fields will continue to enlarge while that of the United States will begin to diminish.

In the not distant future the People's Republic of China and the United States will need to arrive at an honourable modus vivendi in Asia, similar to an arrangement now existing between the Soviet Union and the United States. Pakistan must have the patience to await that day and not commit errors which might cause irredeemable harm. The irony of the situation is that the Pakistan Government's resolve broke down when the worst period was coming to a close. If it had held firm, it would have found itself in a satisfactory position with the United States as well as the Soviet Union.

In Indo-Pakistan relations, the policy of confrontation has been re-placed by submission which is euphemistically described as co-operation. On the question of relations with India, this Government and the people of Pakistan stand on widely separate positions and think very differently. Every day that passes uncovers yet another failure of the Government's policy. All entreaties addressed to India concerning Jammu and Kashmir and the exodus of Muslims from Assam have been futile. Every self-abasing gesture of this Government towards India is answered by greater threats. Since the change of policy, Indo-Pakistan disputes have become more complicated. The situation in Jammu and Kashmir and in Assam has worsened. The Muslims of India have been subjected to new waves of recurring communal riots. The Indian Prime Minister threatens Pakistan with dire consequences, which may mean that at some lime in the future advantage might be taken of Pakistan's vulnerability for the sake of saving India's dissolving unity. Let it not be forgotten that the outcome of the dispute over the Rann of Kutch was a victory of the armed forces of Pakistan and a vindication of the policy of confrontation. Had the Armed Forces not confronted India in the Rann and in Kashmir, Pakistan would have been browbeaten diplomatically and by show of force.

Recently, however, under the advice of foreign friends, India has adopted a soberer attitude towards Pakistan. Does this mean that another endeavour is to be soon made to negotiate a broad settlement? This is not a new development in

Indo-Pakistan relations. It has come and gone periodically. Beginning with Liaquat Ali Khan, every Prime Minister of Pakistan has had to contend with it. The spirit of reconciliation and of animosity recorded the highest and the lowest points during the regime of President Ayub Khan. Now the cycle is being repeated for the second time during his regime. This is the only difference. India is gaining time and weakening Pakistan in the process. Pakistan is writing another essay in illusion for which it stands to lose considerably and gain not an iota of advantage. With the failure of every such exercise, we have seen that it becomes more and more difficult to mobilise the people to take the right position again.

The Government's resolve to seek peace in the subcontinent at all costs and on India's terms is now becoming clear as crystal. Day by day this fear is becoming more real. There are many signs of its authenticity. The Kashmir dispute, which has remained the central problem in Indo-Pakistan relations, has been by-passed ingeniously and relegated to a formal position only. In the past the Security Council was immediately approached whenever India took any serious step to violate the basic United Nations' resolutions. From 1948 upto September, 1965, every Government of Pakistan steadfastly maintained this policy. Since the Tashkent Agreement, India has taken many blatant measures to violate the United Nations* resolutions to tighten its control over Jammu and Kashmir. The services in Kashmir have been Indianised and the Maharajah has been made a Minister in the Central Government of India. These and many other actions of India have necessitated a reference to the Security Council, but the Pakistan Government has scrupulously avoided it. The famous September, 1965, Resolution of the Security Council on Jammu and Kashmir made it obligatory on the United Nations to find a solution to the dispute after the withdrawal of forces. Ambassador Goldberg, the American representative to the United Nations, describing the commitment to the resolution said that it was "like a Bible." The armed forces" withdrawal took place two years ago. The efforts made after the Tashkent Declaration reached an impasse which blocked the settlement of Indo-

Pakistan disputes. This notwithstanding, the Government refuses to go to the Security Council lest it might exacerbate its relations with India and cause annoyance to the two super powers who are determined to see this basic dispute submerged in an overall Indo-Pakistan settlement.

On the 1st of June. 1968, a report emanating from India mentioned that the closure of the Suez Canal has brought out the need for a commercial land route between India and the Soviet Union, cutting across the territories of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Naturally this proposal has been enthusiastically welcomed by India as it gains from it a decisive political advantage more in importance than the commercial benefits. It would be the height of irony when Soviet armaments meant for the destruction of Pakistan ply unhindered on our roads and by our co-operation reach India by a short and direct route. Indian convoys laden with intriguing merchandise including agent-provocateur and saboteurs will criss-cross our highways to be safely off-loaded and picked up at strategic points from the Wagah border to the Durand Line. This is not the only grave implication involved in the materialisation of transit facilities to India across the territory of Pakistan. If Pakistan opens its frontiers to India to promote regional commere, would India allow Chinese convoys 10 use the Tibet-Nepal highway to reach East Pakistan. Burma and Ceylon through the length and breadth of Indian territory? The fruition of such a proposal would extend to cover the co-operation of the entire continguous region but under no circumstances will India agree to it.

An overland link through Pakistan would give India access to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and undermine the strategic importance of this country. No better evidence of reconciliation need be sought if Pakistan submitted to such a proposal. This proposal has not been born out of the closure of the Suez Canal. It was made two years ago for the flow of transit traffic between Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. At that time the Government of Pakistan refused to permit India to benefit from the arrangement. Let us hope that it will

maintain the original position, other-wise, in view of the deadlock over the Farakka barrage and the shadow of India falling over Agartala and India's usurpation of Kashmir, acquiescence in India's trespass over the territory of Pakistan would amount to a signature on a document of surrender.

The Government has admitted that its negotiations with India on the Farakka barrage have been futile and that India is constructing the barrage with speed to present Pakistan with a fait accompli. Bilateral negotiations with India on Kashmir would be even more futile. Circumstances make it imperative for the Government to return immediately to the Security Council and seek its authority to fulfil its own solemn obligation made in unequivocal terms in the Resolution of September, 1965.

The recent student demonstrations in Srinagar have created a new wave of troubles. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the Indian confidant, has described the situation as "a volcano that might erupt at any moment." The Government keeps repeating that it will take the issue to the Security Council at the proper time and in this fashion it finds an escape from its responsibilities. If this is not the right time for the intervention of the Security Council, the time for which the Government is waiting will never come. Sufficient time has already been wasted. If more time is lost, the Security Council may find a pretext to resile from its commitment and in this way finally shut the door on a pacific settlement based on self-determination.

Pakistan has become an international whipping boy. The Government's chaotic policies have driven the country into a corner. The United States takes it once again for granted. Iran and the United Arab Republic approach Turkey and Tunisia for the settlement of their problems and by-pass Pakistan, the country which restored diplomatic relations with Malaysia on Iran's initiative. The Soviet Union no longer sees any risk in resuming military assistance to India. Every Indian who violates the Immigration Act of the United Kingdom is deliberately

called a Pakistani by the British press. In contrast, hordes of Indians fleeing to Britain from Kenya are called Kenyan Asians in deference to India's sensitivities. The lustre of Pakistan-China relations has been lost. Being an underdeveloped country, Pakistan does not have a technological locus stand in the nuclear field and yet it initiates proposals of self-denial by advocating a treaty on non-proliferation which the nuclear powers are anxious to impose on the non-nuclear states. India, on the other hand, refuses to sign the non-proliferation treaty without extracting formidable concessions from the nuclear powers. In commendable contrast to the submissive attitude of Pakistan, the Indian Prime Minister has taken up a position of defiance to the entreaties of both the United States and the Soviet Union for India's agreement on the non-proliferation treaty. Premier Kosygin went personally to Delhi to win the approval of the Indian Government to the treaty. Within a day of his departure, Mrs. Gandhi declared that, because it was not in India's interest to conclude the treaty in its present form, India would not be a party to it even if it meant losing assistance from the Soviet Union and the United States. India will extract every ounce of concession whilst retaining the freedom eventually to oblige the nuclear powers. Pakistan will extract no concession because of its self-hindering action in denying itself nuclear status. Pakistan has thus foreclosed all the advantages of a bargaining status and injured its national interests, especially in the face of India's defiance. What was the need of going one step ahead of the nuclear powers in what they seek so anxiously at the, cost of non-nuclear states?

Every time the Kashmir situation becomes critical, India offers the bait of negotiation to overcome the crisis. This it did in 1953 when, under the cover of negotiations with Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned. This it did again in 1962 during the Sino-Indian conflict. Once again it has resolved to the same tactics only because Sheikh Abdullah has created a new situation by re-activating the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The Indian Government has been concerned by the tumultuous reception Sheikh Abdullah has received in Kashmir, so much so that the Indian Home Minister is threatening to re-arrest him. It is for

this reason that the Indian Government has shown its willingness to discuss its disputes with Pakistan. Every time India is in trouble she tries to get out of it by entangling Pakistan in futile discussions. In this way she gains time to recover and to settle her problems in her own fashion. When the difficulties pass, India returns to her normal position of saying that Kashmir is an integral part of India and that there is nothing to discuss about its future. Pakistan's eagerness to fall headlong into the trap will not go unnoticed in Kashmir. It will be exploited by Indian propaganda in order to throw cold water on the enthusiasm of a people who know how they have suffered in the past from similar means adopted by India to overcome every crisis in the valley of Kashmir. Nor will the lesson be lost on Sheikh Abdullah, a man sadly caught between India's intransigence and Pakistan's ambiguity.

Much has been made of stability in Pakistan. Stability comes from the existence of permanent institutions and from continuity of policy. The sickness of the President showed that this regime is not founded on permanent institutions. The stability is a myth because there is no trace of continuity in the policies of this Government. As has been already shown, both internal and external policies have been erratic and contradictory. They have swung with the pendulum from one side to the other. Stability certainly does not mean that a regime should remain in power for a decade. It means that a government's policies should be given time to show results and not keep changing. It means that there must be institutions to provide for an orderly transfer of power from one government to another. Neither of these conditions exists in Pakistan. The President's recent illness has brought about a qualitative and a quantitative change in the situation. It has thrown open the question of succession. For over two months the Government operated mysteriously and in violation of its own Constitution. To give one example only, the Speaker of the National Assembly administered the oath of office to a Judge of the Supreme Court in violation of the Constitution which gives him this authority only when he is declared as the Acting President, Instead of being kept close to the scene, he was bundled out of the country on a

delegation to avoid the embarrassment of his presence which would have put into focus his constitutional position. There are other instances of flagrant violation of the Constitution.

Clearly, then the Constitution and the system associated with it cannot outlast the man who created them. Internal tensions and internecine intrigues will swell until they burst the balloon. Decisions will become still more full of errors and policies still more arbitrary. There will be jockeying for power and groupings will take place increasing the uncertainty of succession. Rumours will thicken the air. In this fashion the system will crumble. As it is, the situation has been alarming, but with the illness of the President it has taken on a new ring of urgency. The President's health gave way because he carried an unbearable burden. To save himself from physical collapse he will have to shed many of his responsibilities. The system, however, is not fashioned for delegation and decentralisation. It is built on one pillar, the removal of which brings down the whole structure. Moreover, the men around the President do not inspire confidence that they can assume efficiently the heavy responsibilities that may be delegated to them. The scope of the Constitution does not permit decentralisation to be effectively possible. Lacking in flexibility, the system will not be able to accommodate workable appendage? to the Structure.

Attempts at this juncture to make improvisations in acquiescence to popular sentiment would only betray the nervousness of the regime and not remedy the state of affairs. The creation of the office of Vice-President would be like adding a super-adviser to the President. Already provision exists in the Constitution for two Advisers. The one meant for Bengal has always remained vacant and the other has been filled briefly when the Constitution is introduced and now again recently when the Constitution is gasping for survival. These devices have not been found sufficient to fill the void. A Vice-President would either be a shadow of the President or he would exercise de facto powers of the President. If the incumbent assumes all the powers of the President, there will be

conflict at the summit. If, on the other hand, the Vice-President exercises nominal authority, then he will neither be able to control the executive and the legislature nor command the respect of the Services. His functions would encroach upon the spheres of others, causing irritation rather than achieving clarity in decisions. Unless he is elected by an electoral college as large as, that of the President, he will not be able to exercise effective authority and command respect. A Vice-President elected by any other means would not enjoy moral and legal sanction.

It is likely that the Vice-President would be selected from the other wing, if the ruling clique at the centre feel confident enough that they can make of him a puppet in their hands. Nevertheless, this arrangement would increase, the temptation to complete the division between the two pans of Pakistan. The way things are moving, it would mean legally sowing the seeds of rupture between East and West Pakistan. On the other hand, there will be widespread resentment in East Pakistan if the Vice-President comes from the same province as the President.

The decomposition of the system has begun and no measure of internal reform can save it. This was admitted by the Law Minister in a speech he made in Rawalpindi in the beginning of March, 1968. It was an extraordinary performance insofar as he virtually confessed that a void existed in the national life similar to the conditions of 1958, which prompted the military to intervene. The Law Minister is on record as having stated that the Pakistan Muslim League exists in name only and that it is unable to muster national support and influence the people. It was a patent admission of failure by a Minister of the Government. No other interpretation can be given to his speech, because the Law Minister in his own words conceded that the ruling party was non-existent and that the conditions in the country were ripe for another intervention. Whatever makeshift arrangements are made in the establishment, they will last for a short duration but make the crisis more acute. The substitute arrangements, even if they are liberal, will fail to inspire confidence. The machinery of Government has come to

such a pass that neither is it able to make effective concessions nor can concessions be made to it. The moment any leader of the opposition comes to terms with the Government without obtaining a democratic quid pro quo, his co-operation will be of no value as he would immediately fall from the people's favour. If, on the other hand, some of the opposition leaders join the Government on obtaining democratic concessions, power will pass out of the hands of the regime. The people will feel themselves stronger and circumstances will conspire to bring popular forces into such a position of advantage as to remove the Government by an inexorable process.

The crisis cannot be resolved by internal re-adjustments. The power nucleus within the Government will have to seek an alternative outside the present structure in order to begin the task of reconstruction. There is then no democratic procedure within the system that can be utilised to overcome the crisis. The proper answer to the problem lies in a democratic solution outside the system as it stands. But this will not be entertained by the rulers because it is pre-eminently the only logical approach to the crisis.

The existing Constitution, brought into force in 1962, from which the regime draws its legal sanction, contains three articles, namely, 14, 15 and 16, regulating arrangements in the event of the President's physical or mental incapacity. While these relevant constitutional provisions exist, laying down in clear language conditions and procedure, it is interesting to note that article 16, by virtue of which the Speaker should have acted in place of the President during the long critical days of the President's illness, was not invoked. Who gave orders, who managed the affairs of state, when the President lay stricken by a grievous malady and obviously in no condition to fulfil the exacting duties of his office? We are not told. According to the Constitution, the man who should have performed the duties of the President was the Speaker. Why was he prevented from assuming the responsibility prescribed by the supreme code of the country,

the Constitution itself? Who prevented him? These are not idle questions, for they go deep into the root of the whole problem.

Had the Speaker been allowed to act as President in accordance with the Constitution, it is unlikely that he could have been more than a figure-head in view of the realities of power. Yet he was not permitted even this purely honorific role. There are probably two reasons for what happened.

In the first place, one must take into account the prejudice of certain individuals who exercise more power and influence in the Government than they ought to. One might compare it with the racial prejudice of the British, when they ruled the country, towards all natives because of colour and race.

Now, the prejudiced Pakistanis about whom we are speaking imagine that they are heirs to the British rulers. An East Pakistani Speaker acting as President under circumstances that gave no assurance as to the future was a thought intolerable for those around the President who were deciding the arrangements during his illness. They could not possibly allow the correct action under the Constitution to be taken. The Speaker, a Bengali gentleman, has acted before during the President's tours abroad. But that was a different matter; nobody took him seriously as no cases of any importance were allowed to come to him for decision when the President could give the necessary orders from abroad in all urgent matters.

Yet the Speaker is a man who has done his utmost to identify himself with the regime. When it came to the question of sharing real power, he got the same treatment the British used to give their ardent Indian supporters in similar situations: the job was among the reserved subjects, not open to natives.

We must now come to the second reason. The regime's character is authoritarian. A number of vested interests have been expressly created for the

sake of maintaining personal power. It is in that sense an authoritarian regime rests upon only one pillar. All the records of history leach the lesson that in such a system as this the central figure cannot tolerate any other person's being placed alongside him, even if on a lower pedestal.

Men are not immortal. Had the regime been based on the conception of hereditary monarchy, the question of succession would have been clear. On the face of it, the Constitution provides for arrangements in case of the President's incapacity or his departure and in that respect gives the appearance of being really republican and at least superficially democratic. But since in actual practice none of the Ministers was anybody at all, had no real prestige or authority, the decision to invoke the relevant articles had to come from the President himself. Any change at the top, once the Constitution was brought into effective operation, might have set in motion a whole train of changes. The Ministers have not the backing of the people, and are only functionaries whose authority depends on the will of the President. The Ministers, therefore, as well as the chosen bureaucrats, have found it more convenient for themselves to avoid the operation of the constitutional provisions. This is the second reason why the Constitution has been set aside.

The second reason can be explained in another way. Although the focus of power maintains itself with the help of vested interests, in the one-man system no individual personalities may be allowed to become prominent beyond a certain point. The downfall of Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh must be remembered in this connection. Therefore, when the crisis came with the President's illness, each single individual at the centre of power was too weak in himself to furnish another focal point, whereas all of them in a body were fearful of the result to which the operation of the constitutional provisions might lead. For some time at least, their common interest lies in preserving the status quo. Hence the talk of the institution of a Vice-President.

The creation of the post of a Vice-President is actually against the logic of the Constitution which lays down that when the President is incapacitated he must be either temporarily or permanently relieved of his duties. If the President is truly incapacitated, the solution is not that his duties should be performed by a Vice-President. The relevant provisions of our present Constitution cannot be said to be impracticable: they have not been tried and it seems that they will not be in future.

What seems to be happening now is a grouping of personal interests near the seat of power. Such elements are individual persons, but each of them must seek to find support among large and powerful bodies of vested interests. The civilian Ministers are in the weakest position of all. Few, if any, of them have support among any section of the people. They have, therefore, also to seek support from vested interests and at the same time to ally them-selves with other power groups, such as of the services.

The capitalist interests are not all united, but will certainly be wooed by members of the coterie. Some of the very powerful capitalists will pursue their own policy and their alliances will depend on circumstances. In any case, they are likely to favour the elements they can control, but it is by no means certain that they will consider coups d'etat as being to their advantage. Both as individuals and as a class they are likely to be wooed by all the important members of the ruling coterie. Alliances already exist, but they are liable to mutations under the stress of the crisis.

Even if the future is in no exact sense predictable, nevertheless an estimation of the various forces at play can give some idea of the likely trend of developments.

We must leave out of consideration external events beyond our control, such as war involving the great powers which would certainly upset all efforts for

a more or less peaceful transformation of our country's political and economic life. Even without world war and foreign intervention, it will depend mainly, if not solely, upon the present power groups whether transformation can take place in a peaceful and orderly fashion. Some persons or groups in the body of powerful vested interests may, in a mood of panic, make the miscalculation of trying to use force as a solution to their own difficulties.

Of the possible developments we must consider before the others the two which depend upon forces within the regime itself:

(1) The maintenance of the regime, that is, the present system, with the help of devices and subterfuges, while preserving the facade of constitutional government.

(2) A coup d'etat minus its facade.

The first development is already in process. Maneuverings are going on with the immediate objective in view of superseding such provisions of the Constitution as might lead to changes if applied. It is being wrongly suggested that the Constitution has some sort of a lacuna that must be filled by the appointment of a Vice-President. Although the Constitution does provide for the contingencies of a temporary or permanent incapacity of the President in office and also for election of a President there is of course, a lacuna in that it provides not for succession passing smoothly to an individual of the President's own choice. The idea behind the creation of a Vice-President's post is to avoid election for a President. In this way the power groups hope to maintain their hold for several years to come, all the while administering the familiar mixture of coercion and corruption.

They cannot hold out for very long; it is highly improbable that they can succeed in their designs except for a very short time. Neither the bureaucrats nor their clients will be able to stem the rising tide of resentment, which is bound

under the circumstances to burst the eroded dams of authority. The dilemma for the power groups which are trying this course lies therein that any appeal to force would bring about a new situation, which they may be able to invite but not control.

On the other hand, the constitutional trick of presidential succession without the assent of the people is fraught with grave dangers. Let us consider the solution of a Vice-President.

The post of Vice-President must be filled either by a man who will be acceptable to the power groups as successor to the President or acceptable to the same groups as a skilful manipulator who will ensure the desirable succession and the maintenance of the status quo. If he is to fulfil the conditions necessary for the requirements in question, he cannot be just a puppet of the power groups. We must, therefore, arrive straightway at one conclusion that the Vice-President cannot be an East Pakistani.

The present regime is founded upon personal authority supported by a certain pattern of vested interests. While the vested interests as a whole remain the same, the President makes and unmakes the individuals around him who carry out his behests. Observers from capitalist countries without deep insight into our conditions have been inclined to put the accent upon the familiar equation that "money is power". This is true in Pakistan to some extent, but the real weight in the primitive structure which has supplanted the more evolved capitalist structure imposed by the British is in the equation, "power is money." The retrogression to more primitive forms is evidenced by the reimposition of the atrocious jirga system of trial. "Power is money" means that in order to become rich one must enjoy authority or be favoured by persons wielding authority.

In order to grasp certain possibilities of future development in our own country, it is most important to inquire what happens when this principle is

applied in the conduct of a nation's affairs by some of its own members and not by individuals or groups from outside who distinguish themselves, in one way or another, from the general body of the exploited people. The only guiding principle in a number of countries is the one mentioned—"power is money." It has established itself through coups d'etat in several of the smaller newly-independent countries of Africa.

The difference between poor and rich countries lies not in the prosperity of their millionaires but in the relative conditions of their masses. Pakistan's millionaires can take their place with pride alongside those of the United States and Western Europe. At the time of partition the affluence of the small number of rich Pakistanis derived from the possession of landed estates. The crop of millionaires is new. An inquiry into how the great business and industrial fortunes were made within the space of a few years will reveal without a shadow of doubt that state patronage played the decisive role. It is a completely false belief fostered by official propaganda that the working of free enterprise in a liberal economy gave the chance to the exceptionally talented businessmen to reap the golden harvest of their labours.

The system adopted in our country is anything but laissez faire; it is not liberal in any sense of the word. All the levers are so controlled by the Government that it can direct the flow of wealth into the pockets of whomsoever it pleases. Now, those who control the levers can also profit from the system to make themselves rich. In this way Government servants, not to speak of Ministers form the managing personnel of the vast enterprise of getting rich through participation in authority.

The connection between big business and government servants becomes understandable. The link is interdependence through certain types of mutual interest. Without the co-operation of government servants the capitalist entrepreneur could not hope to set up his industrial establishment or make profit

by trade. The system of giving licences concerns not only the big businessman who has already amassed his pile of millions but every newcomer in the field of business. More than that, licences for the setting up of factories or for imports are often bestowed upon persons, who have no intention of entering industry or business themselves, purely as rewards for political or other services rendered, or on account of familial or tribal association. The recipient of a valuable license will offer it for sale outright, or he may enter into partnership, at a price, with some capitalist. The system, it has become indeed a system, of giving licences as a matter of favour has made the fortune of many a family. Such licences are like cheques drawn upon the collective resources of the nation; for the consumer has ultimately to pay the price at which the licences are sold.

Not all government servants are corrupt; some have not the opportunity to be so and some have not yet lost their sense of honour and duty. Almost all government officials feel the circumstances compelling them to make compromises with their conscience. Things have gone so far that the good officials cannot hope for promotion unless they accept the prevailing state of affairs and even co-operate in giving effect to dishonest decisions from which they themselves may not wish to derive benefit. The pension of a government servant is so modest that unless he works after retirement or makes a torture in office while the going is good, he and his family will be reduced to indigence in his old age. Moreover, pensions are insecure. If his honesty offends the Government he may not receive any pension at all. He, therefore, cultivates relations with the circle of businessmen with which he comes in contact so that he may, on retirement, find a post in some firm.

The government officials in the higher echelons have a big stake in the maintenance of the status quo, which is to say, free field for predatory capitalists. The lower level government employees have had to suffer from all the nightmares of insecurity which results from their status and are, therefore, by no means attached to the status quo. In this time of crisis, however, the principal

thought of those who are committed to this regime is how to find ways of ensuring its continuance. Therefore, it must be expected that the top-ranking government officials will try to avoid the hazards of such changes as might follow from the exercise of voting rights by the people. The position of individual high-ranking officials depends upon favour. They must look upon their future as clouded with uncertainty. They are the elements who have the most to gain by temporising and, therefore, such a solution as that of a Vice-President will appeal to them most of all.

A coup d'etat is a very different thing from a revolution, for a revolution has the motor of ideals in it and the self-sacrificing adherence of a goodly section of the population. At the moment when a coup is made it will give the appearance that the Gordian knot of political problems has been cut. In fact, however, it will solve no problems, unless it comes with the purpose of restoring the people's rights. Otherwise, the putschists might be tempted to indulge in massacres of the kind committed in Indonesia, which will hasten the breakup of Pakistan.

In the event of a new wave of repression, the external dangers will rapidly mount to a degree which will make of Pakistan a beleaguered nation. Pakistan's neighbours will revive territorial claims, and internal discontent will furnish the occasion to foreign powers first to increase their pressure and then to intrigue with the object of destroying the nation itself.

Reliance on brute force, as a means to handle the country's complicated problems, would be in conflict with all the experience of the past ten years. It would be indulging in an over-simplified approach to a crisis rooted in political and economic discontent. The people of Pakistan have already seen that recourse to force has only increased their difficulties. The nation's problems, being political in character, require a political approach for their lasting settlement.

It does not follow from the fact that a country is ruled by a junta that it is militarily strong. None of the great suppliers of arms will have any interest in giving more arms to Pakistan than before. The United States arms aid, as we have seen, was given to Pakistan primarily for 'internal security. This purpose will be achieved by the simple fact that the people are suppressed. But the United States has itself somewhat changed its attitude on the question: it now demands the alliance or confederation of Pakistan with India in hostility towards China. Things are already moving in that direction under the cover of contrary propaganda.

The maneuvering for maintaining the status quo and a coup d'etat do not, fortunately, exhaust all the possibilities of political development in the crisis. We must consider the remaining three :

- (1) Immediate restoration of parliamentary rule.
- (2) A transition period in accordance with a definite programme for the establishment of a popular government.
- (3) Reform of the constitutional structure in order to establish a democratic system.

The failure of the present Presidential regime is so evident that the cry for the immediate restoration of parliamentary rule is comprehensible. It is, however, hard to imagine that this can be done by some son of a Governmental decree. There are people who advocate the introduction of the 1956 Constitution, disregarding the fact that that Constitution was framed by a Government unrepresentative of the people. The establishment of any form of democratic government must be based upon the result of a genuine consultation of the masses. It should also be realised that the choice is not limited to only two forms of constitution—the present regime and parliamentary government modelled on the 1956 Constitution. The passage of time has brought into relief a number of problems of a fundamental nature, not least of all, inter-wing relations and, of

course, the grave problem of social and economic justice. From the purely constitutional aspect, a system must be introduced with adequate checks and balances at the Centre, avoiding both the pitfalls of too much concentration of power in one hand and its dispersal to the point of being ineffective. We shall not here go into the multitude of problems that must be tackled for introducing at last a constitution that will fulfil two essential conditions, that it be progressive and democratic and the result of popular consent.

The best course that can be expected as feasible is to steer through a transition period with the definite objective of establishing a popular government. That is point 4, mentioned above, which means a transition period in accordance with a definite programme for the establishment of a popular government. The legal and administrative consequence, point 5, that is, reform of the constitutional structure in order to establish a democratic system, naturally follows; for the purpose of the transition period is just this: to give the country a democratic, progressive constitution. This will not follow from point 3, the immediate restoration of parliamentary rule, for which the present system offers no scope, whereas reversion to the 1956 Constitution will simply create another crisis in a short time. In what manner the transition period will begin is a matter that cannot be foreseen at this moment, so many imponderables being involved. The transition period if it is to have any meaning at all, must begin with the restoration of fundamental rights, or else it will be a fraud punished by a consequent coup d'etat or civil war. Without the restoration of fundamental rights, not even opposition leaders inclined towards the Government can enter into negotiations with the power group without peril to themselves and their cause.

The probabilities are that the situation as at present will remain essentially unchanged, with rising internal difficulties, until 1969, when the period of presidential elections begins. To set the stage for elections changes will be made in the Government including a host of transfers in the Administration. But such permutations will be of no avail. It will become evident at election time that the

bureaucrats who at present indulge in day-to-day manipulations for the regime will not be able to fill the political vacuum, nor will most of the present Ministers at the Centre and in the provinces be effective in mustering the people's allegiance. The Government's control over the provinces has weakened and the issues engaging the attention of the people are far more explosive than they were during the last elections. The mounting resentment in every part of the country will not fail to influence the electorate. Although the Basic Democracies' system is a built-in device for self-perpetuation, a majority of younger men, less amenable to coercion by officials, will replace the present members. Many members of the Assemblies and other disillusioned politicians will turn against the regime at the crucial lime.

The problem in essence is the abrogation of the present system without going the way of coup d'etat and internecine strife. I believe that the question of economic and social justice cannot be shirked without risk, rather the certainty, of Pakistan's disintegration. All patriotic people will agree with me that disintegration includes open or disguised confederation with India. Therefore, whatever regime acceptable to the nation succeeds after the transition period or, in the alternative, after the general elections of 1969, it must be progressive by nature. Until the change begins, all progressive forces must strive, like the Pakistan People's Party, to establish a progressive, democratic and egalitarian system of government.

***On Leaving the Government
Address at Sindh Convention, Hyderabad,
September 21, 1968***

Brave peasants and students:

Let me congratulate all party workers of the Sindh zone on the success of this convention. I think you remember my press conference on 18th September last year in Hyderabad in which I announced that I would struggle to create a national political party. I consulted all well-wishers and friends in this respect. I knew how difficult it was to set up a party in times of dictatorship. But, today, we have accomplished this arduous task with the hard work of party workers and the enthusiastic support of the people.

Gentlemen, today I would like to throw some light on the circumstances that led to my resignation from the Government. But I shall confine myself only to narrating such circumstances which, I think, are important and of national interest,

I do want to say clearly that there was no personal interest, or greed for permits or licences behind my separation from the Government and my differences with President Ayub Khan. Rather, these differences related to fundamental political and economic problems facing the whole nation.

How these difference began is a long story. But during the September war of 1965 these differences erupted like a volcano. With the passage of time these differences with the Government began widening on all important matters such as Kashmir, the Tashkent Declaration, the problem of war and peace and on the Indian threat. For a long time I exercised patience. But the post-September war period brought me to the point of no return. I found it degrading to endure the Government's policy. It was in obvious conflict with the wider interests of the nation. Even in those difficult days I had been pledging a thousand-year war in

order to protect the integrity and freedom of the motherland, and of the people of Kashmir. But the short war unnerved the Government despite the bravery and perseverance of the brave people of Pakistan and our armed forces.

The Government showed a shameless lack of faith. It fell at the feet of the great powers. I had no alternative but to come back to my dear countrymen. I obeyed the voice of my conscience.

My brothers, I wanted to resist Pakistan's enemies, but my opponents dubbed my patriotic feelings as emotionalism. I was described as an "emotional young man." After coming back from Tashkent, wherever I went the people received me with affection. They asked me scores of questions on seeing tears in my eyes. But I could not tell them what befell my dear motherland. My silence was exploited as cowardice. As a matter of fact I am neither a coward nor emotional. I had kept quiet only because the enemy forces were looking for a suitable opportunity. I knew that a single sentence from my mouth could spark off a civil war in the country. I remained silent to avoid a civil war which would only benefit Pakistan's enemies.

But now that years have passed I cannot remain silent. We are in changed times. Time has put off those dangers which had been looming large over the country. Enough has been written on the subject, particularly in other countries on the story of that time. There is a limit to remaining silent; unless we fulfil this duty history would not exist.

I am obliged to put before the people all events whose disclosure is important for the people of Pakistan and the nation as a whole; so now the people will be able to judge for themselves and see the truth. It is the need of the hour.

Brothers, I am proud of having been trained politically by the ever-conscious patriotic people of Pakistan. They are my real teachers. This is why the politics of the people and humility are in my character.

Doubtless I have been making strong but logical speeches against the Government. Although I have been severely criticising the Government's policies, I have never abandoned truth and justice. I have always kept in mind all the demands of political ethics. Never before have I named President Ayub Khan in my speeches in the manner I am going to do today. My political creed abhors attacks on personal grounds. But I cannot be blamed if my constructive criticism makes someone feel angry.

There is no denying the fact that a line cannot be drawn between a dictator and a dictatorial system of Government. Both have the same descent.

And I say to President Ayub Khan: Remember that I served this country for eight years. I don't mind if you still want to do injustice to me. But at least you should do justice to the people of this country. You should not misrepresent facts to them. But if you have no regard for the people, then you and your Ministers are at liberty to continue levelling baseless allegations against me. I leave my affairs to the people. They will decide.

Friends and fellow workers:

Once during an air journey. I came across India's High Commissioner who wished to exchange views with me on the problems between India and Pakistan. On his insistence I agreed. Now this meeting was exploited to no end. Statements were issued alleging that I met the Indian envoy secretly. Why should have I met him secretly? The people know I met him in daylight at 1.00 p.m. Everyone knows that the secret police hovers round me all the time and everywhere. Please remember I am not one of those who meet the enemies of Pakistan under the darkness of night and conspire for forging a confederation of

India and Pakistan. I am a person whose ideas could not be changed or bought by the imperialists. I am the same man who encountered Swaran Singh in the Security Council. I know how to talk to the people from the other side. I am not from amongst those persons who have been entrusted with the job of writing off the freedom of the Kashmiris.

Brothers, you may like to know all about those "secret talks." The Indian ambassador asked me whether an exchange of political leaders' visits between the two countries could help in settling matters in dispute and improving mutual relations between the two countries. I told him frankly that the people of Pakistan were not willing to talk with India on any problem so long as India continues her expansionist, aggressive policies towards her neighbours: so long as she refuses to recognise the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir.

My brothers, now tell me if you see in these remarks any harm to my motherland. Let my opponents listen: my ideas and philosophy are not so weak as to change by meeting a single individual. I am not like those persons who change their ideas after one meeting with Johnson or Wilson.

Brothers, as you know, an attempt was made through newspapers that I, who had been a Minister since 1958, and a Foreign Minister for sometime, was an Indian national. They tried to cast doubts about my nationality. Unlike others I do not have properties or bank balances abroad. Nor have I betrayed my nation. Why should I wish for another country's nationality? Well, if you don't know then let it be known that Bhutto was born in Sind. Like my ancestors I was born here. I would also like to be buried here. I love the sacred soil of my motherland.

You will recall that a conference was recently held in Yugoslavia, and that was aimed at reforming the UN to enable the world body to play an effective role in ensuring world peace, and in resolving mutual disputes between nations. I was invited to attend this conference, and this angered my opponents. They alleged

that I was visiting Europe at American expense. It is true that like other delegates from various countries I was a guest of the organisers of this conference. It is not my fault if the organisers did what was required by international convention. If the Government of Pakistan thought that it was against its policies for me to attend the conference, then it should have refused me the permission to attend the conference. After the conference I visited one or two European countries for about six weeks. But I bore the expenses of my remaining tour. Who does not know that this conference was attended not only by Pakistan but also by the delegates of the Soviet Union, the UAR, Iraq, Denmark and others? The conference was not held for any imperialistic conspiracy. What went on in this conference or whatever proposals I made in my speeches are on record. Did I not say there that by ignoring the 700 million people of the People's Republic of China and without its presence in the UN, the world body could never take revolutionary steps for world peace and progress of the human race? Did I not call for freeing the UN of all imperialistic influences and of big power collusions? Did I say anything against Pakistan's interest? A word cannot be found in any of my speeches against the interests of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America? Do people touring at CIA's expense make such speeches? If the answer is no, and it certainly is no, then how can they level charges against me? I pity my opponents' wisdom.

On the one hand they complain that a young Foreign Minister of Pakistan had annoyed America, and on the other it is propagated that I have been touring Europe at the State Department's expense. I would like to know what is common in these two stands. Is it not that the two contradict each other?

I would tell my opponents not to try to spit at the moon, for they will only be spattering their faces. The people of Pakistan know that imperialism spends money only on its friends and agents, and not on an anti-imperialist person like me. I had gone to Europe at my own expense. I am not greedy for wealth. Not to speak of misappropriation, I never unduly drew a single penny from the national

treasury for my own person. In the land reforms, my family surrendered its 40,000 acres of fertile land for the people. And I hereby reaffirm that I will sacrifice everything in my possession for the sake of the people.

Today, the Government accuses me of having taken an undue advantage of my official position. If it thinks that this is right. I challenge all individuals who have been associated with the Government to declare their assets before they entered Government and as these assets now stand. I will do the same.

Come on, Mr. President let us both take the initiative and account for our past and present assets. Let us tell the nation what you had before you became President and about all that I had before becoming Minister Let the people know what you gained and what I lost while in office the people know this story. I am prepared to present before them a statement of my assets. Are you willing to do that? It is better to look at yourself before criticising others. I am not a greedy man, otherwise during the tenure of my office as Minister for Industries, Fuel, Oil and Foreign Affairs, I could have amassed wealth like you have done. But I did not do it. So, Mr. President, I would have amassed almost as much money as you have done.

I will now tell you about the last conversation I had with President Ayub Khan. It was my farewell meeting. It was evening time. It was in a special room of the President's House, whose walls are painted green and in which important meetings take place. Once a Minister told me jokingly:

"Mr. Bhutto, now that you and I have been in this room, there should be no need for any fear." As to what type of political talks were held there, will become known by listening to my conversation with the President. The President initiated the conversation like this:

"Look, a wide difference has developed in our policies. I tried my best to dissuade you from pursuing a policy against my wishes. But you have been acting against my wishes." He then referred to an Urdu magazine lying on his table which contained my statement on the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

He said, "You are forcing me to remove you from Ministership."

I told him, "I have already requested you on more than one occasion to relieve me. It is true that wide differences exist between our ideas and policies. That is why I want to leave the Government."

On this, the President changed the conversation and said: "You have served the nation and the country very well. I don't want to deprive you of power. I had told you that in Larkana also."

My dear brothers, I told him I could not sacrifice my ideas and philosophy for a few days of power. I loved my ideas. I told him it would be better if he relieved me and gave me leave to return to the people. For some time he remained silent. And then he said, "If you are sent out like this, there will be disruption and disturbances in the country. You had better go on leave for sometime. The test we will see later on."

Since I was already getting sick of the government. I immediately accepted his decision. But the President was not satisfied. He thundered.

"Remember, never dare to come into politics again." I could not accept this threat. I told him. "No power on earth can separate me from my people. If ever the nation needed me and called for my help. I would certainly respond to it. Whether or not I should participate in politics is not for you or me to decide. The people alone will decide this. The fate of a politician depends on the wishes of

the people. If the people decide that I should take part in politics, then you cannot stop me from acting on their wishes."

My dear brothers, as soon as he sensed my firmness the President tried to allure me into accepting ambassadorial and other lucrative assignments. He said, "Mr. Bhutto, we are ready to give you whatever you want."

I reminded him of his conversation in Larkana, and said, "I want to tell you clearly I am not interested in jobs. Since I am a principled man, I am not prepared to remain in Government by deviating from my ideas and trampling upon my principles. My ideas have endeared me to the people. I can never sacrifice these ideas at any cost."

My friends, as you know, power is ephemeral. Nobody has wielded power forever. Despots like Alexander, the Pharaohs, Chengiz Khan and Hitler met their end. Everything is mortal, except those who serve the people and administer justice. History has never eulogised a tyrant nor has it overlooked the sacrifices of the oppressed. Ministers come and go, but the people only remember those who serve them. Fazlul Haq was 80 when he died. He remained Minister only for two years. The people gave him the title of Sher-i-Bengal not because of the period of his Ministership but because of his services. The Quaid-i-Azam ruled Pakistan for just over a year but the people will never forget this great benefactor. You will remember that the Congress told him repeatedly that if he withdrew the demand for Pakistan, he could become the President or Prime Minister of United India. But the Quaid-e-Azam rejected the Presidentship of United India for the principle of Pakistan. At the instance of the Indian Congress. Mountbatten told the Quaid that if he forgot about the division of the subcontinent, he would be made the Governor-General of India. The Quaid said in reply that he did not want to become Governor-General of India, he only wanted Pakistan.

This is the one fundamental difference between a principled person and those who cling on to their chairs by trampling upon principles.

So when I finally refused to accept any of his suggestions, the President said. "Mr. Bhutto you have become rather arrogant, otherwise you would not have adopted such an attitude. However, I still have regard for you. You have been brought up in comfort. You are still unaware of the difficulties and miseries of life. Remember, I am the President of this country. And you know how I treat my opponents. I warn you that if you participate in politics on your return from leave, I will ruin you. Don't forget you belong to Sind whose big "Pirs" can be set right by a Tehsildar or a Sub-inspector of police."

I told him. "It is good of you to have such high praise for Sind and its people but I do not believe in race, colour or regionalism. I also do not subscribe to the obsolete British philosophy of ascertaining a nation's strength on the basis of race, colour or region. To me all human beings are equal whether they are Africans. Chinese, Japanese, the small Vietnamese or the tall Americans. This is my philosophy of life. Don't threaten me on the basis of being a Sindhi or non-Sindhi. Perhaps, you do not know yet the nature of the desert people. What right do you have to describe the Sindhis as cowards? If you want to ruin me and follow me to my grave, then you should know that is where we shall all end up."

The President said, "Well, you can now proceed on leave. About the rest we shall see afterwards."

My dear brothers:

I have been constrained today to say all this after three years, so that you may be able to judge things for yourself. As you know the Government has been indulging in vicious propaganda against me. It is for you to distinguish who is in the right. President Ayub Khan and his advisers have decided to involve me in all

sorts of criminal cases in order to have me disqualified from fighting the coming Presidential elections, to remove a big obstacle in the way of President Ayub Khan.

Friends and elders, I am a human being. I can make mistakes. But I am not guilty of any impropriety which these people are attributing to me.

I never took undue advantage of my office as Minister. However. I have committed one sin; and that is that I have been associated with this Government for eight years, although I served the country to the best of my capacity. When the Government failed to lay hands on any proof against me, it charged me with hiring official tractors for half their rental charges. How ridiculous are these allegations? You know I have not only been Foreign Minister, but also Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources. I have been Commerce Minister and Industries Minister. If like other Ministers I wished to have my own factories, and bank balances abroad, I could have done all that so easily. To hire tractors at half the fixed rate would be like picking up pennies after passing up pounds. Had. I been greedy for wealth, it would not have been difficult for me to amass it.

Once a representative of a Big Power took me by my arm and said: "Mr. Bhutto, you will get anything you wish provided you make some adjustments."

In indignation I jerked my arm away and said: "Never try to do this again. If you have purchased a few mean individuals, you should not think that everyone in Pakistan is a Mir Jafar. I am not like these who have acted against national interests and slacked away funds in banks abroad.

When I narrated this incident to the President, who was then in Swat, he paid tributes to me. But I would like to ask him now whether this is the reward for those tributes?

I have tried hard to end black-marketing, corruption and nepotism in the country, but this wretched class has never stopped from doing evil. One of the main reasons for this sad state of affairs is that Government itself is corrupt. It is an agonising story.

My brothers:

The Pakistan People's Party is a principled, ideological party, with a specific objective. That is why we want to oppose the Government on the basis of principles and ideas. But the Government has resorted to personal vindictiveness. When we speak of principles, the Government orders the registration of "the tractors case" against me. When we mention socialism, the Government orders that we should be detained under D.P.R. When we demand justice for the people of Baluchistan, instructions are given to arrest Akbar Bugti. When we say Islam is our religion, the Government claims it alone has the monopoly over it. When we say the people want democracy, it is said the Basic Democracies are good enough for them. And when we demand food and clothing for the people, they give us bullets and beatings.

In short, tell us Khan sahib which of us has trampled on democracy, you or me? In your reign there is everywhere a wave of oppression, poverty and illiteracy. The people are being oppressed under Section 144 and the Defence of Pakistan Rules. Today, one can hear the agonising voices of the hungry peasants, the naked labourers, poor students and the overawed masses from Khyber to Karachi and from Karachi to Chittagong. There is no one to redress their grievances. If this situation continues unabated, the people will rise in rebellion, and there will be bloodshed and civil war in the country. I am not prophesying. It is logic. I might be accused of spreading rebellion. Well. I will do that, if needed. I fear no one?

On my part. I believe in solving the people's problems through peaceful, democratic means. But what should I do if the Government is incapable of understanding the language of democracy. I do reaffirm I will be the first to come forward if it is required. We are not frightened by revolution. We do not fear bloodshed.

Ayub Khan Sahib, I am not a coward I cannot be browbeaten by Section 144 or the Defence of Pakistan Rules. I am not scared of your guns either. Come on, take up your guns: I have the power of the people with me. It is more powerful than an atom bomb. I have burnt my boats for democracy and socialism. Since I have burnt my boats, I will not let you sit in peace. The Government will have to pay a heavy price for pleasing the 22 families at the cost of 110 million people. You must not take the nation's silence as a sign of cowardice. We are not a cowardly nation. Only its so-called leaders are cowards. It bravely encountered an enemy four or fives times bigger when the big, so-called leaders, were sitting terrified and tongue-tied in their homes. This nation faced the imperialists and their Indian stooges. It is still prepared to fight any oppression and cruelty.

Dear brothers:

Every democratic and progressive country is run under its constitution and laws. Everywhere the administration is under an obligation to take every step in accordance with that constitution and the law. It is a pity that everything is done here to the contrary. Here the constitution does not guide the administration. Rather, the administration guides the constitution.

As justice is hard to get in a country where there is no rule of law, you remain at the mercy of bureaucrats. Today I would like to say something about this class, the class whom we call '*kamores*'—the bureaucracy. It is a powerful and a prosperous class, a class holding the reins of government in its cruel and

blood stained-hands. The Constitution has given full protection to the administration. That is why the rulers come and go, the governments are made and dislodged, but the administration continues to remain. This is done to keep it immune from political influences.

But it is a shame that our administration should become a tool of the rulers. We do agree that it is obliged to carry out Government's orders. But it should not view all orders in a political colour. The Government servants should refrain from carrying out illegal orders. It is their duty to distinguish right from wrong. Every order should be considered on merit and in the light of the constitution. If Government officials find these orders unconstitutional or illegal they should without fear refuse to implement them. The constitution protects the bureaucracy. It need not fear anyone.

Administration is always thought to be at the service of the people. It is their protector. But it has a different role in Pakistan. Here one of its main jobs is to give grand receptions to the rulers, and to arrange public meetings for them despite Section 144. It is also supposed to arrange at minimum rates gatherings of people to raise the slogans of *Zindabad* for the rulers and of *Murdabad* for the opposition. It remains busy praising Ministers and rulers day and night. It is entrusted with disturbing the public meetings of opposition parties, and planning lathi charges on them. It is also required to protect the goonda elements and to arrest the law-abiding persons under the Goonda Act. It is obliged to manage bogus votes for the ruling party. It is expected to stifle the voice and slogans of democracy and socialism.

I warn the officials immediately to mend their unconstitutional conduct. After all who they are afraid of? If anyone tells them that they are employees of an individual's government, he tells a lie. I say to them: you are not slaves of a dictator or an individual. You are the servants only of the people. You are not paid by a dictator from his own pocket. If at all you have to fear anyone you

should fear your people. If you have to be faithful, be so to the people. It is they who pay you. You must be courageous and self-respecting. You should follow the footsteps of those amongst you who throw their resignations at the face of the Government instead of doing illegal and unconstitutional acts.

I say to the bureaucracy of this country: You better mend your ways, otherwise I have preserved in my memory the conduct of everyone, right from Section Officers to Secretaries. Remember, you have one day to appear before the court of the people, where you will be answerable for your conduct.

How can I ignore the oppressive policies of the administration? How can I forget the cruelty against the students of Hyderabad? These tyrants cannot hide their sins. The Indus cannot wash them. The silent pillars of the Kotri Barrage are witnesses to the way they ranged themselves at the Barrage and how they attacked the students with batons and bullets. They perpetrated tortures on the arrested students in order to force them to issue statements against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The detained students resisted all pressure. They declared that they would prefer to die rather than bear false evidence against an innocent person.

My dear students, if the Government is willing to release you provided you name me as the instigator, then you must do so. To the Government I would say: Slaves of the tyrant, enemies of the country and murderers of the people, what right have you to set up any memorial for the Independence Movement fighters, or build monuments for the shaheeds of the September war? We will build these memorials—to the freedom movement stalwarts—the students of Sind and Hyderabad.

We shall set up a grand monument in Karachi in memory of the sacrifices of the students and the people, who kept alive the flame of freedom by giving their blood, who opposed imperialism, who stood for ending of Martial Law for the restoration of democracy and for the cause of the oppressed people of Asia.

Africa and Latin America. We shall erect memorials in Lahore and Multan in honour of those students who faced bullets in their protest demonstrations against the Tashkent Declaration. We will set up monuments in memory of the people of Baluchistan who came forward to protect freedom. We will do the same for the self-respecting Pathans of those Frontier areas where life was made hell for the people. We will construct a monument for democracy in East Pakistan in appreciation of the efforts and struggle of the students, labourers and peasants.

And let those responsible for the killing of refugees in Karachi remember that the people of Lalukhet and Nazimabad have not yet forgotten the victory parade in which the tyrants lost their balance and resorted to murder and burning of houses. I say to these tyrants: You made those refugees the target of your violence and brutality. But you still claim friendship with these muhajireen. Have you forgotten the dictator's remarks about them during the last elections? "If we had not provided shelter to the muhajireen in Karachi, they would have had to be drowned in the Arabian Sea." But now his son and his men armed with pistols, have come out to solve their problems. Did you solve these problems after the last elections to come out again with the same promises?

I say: Let them come; let them all come with their wealth, their licences, permits and the police; let them use the radio, television and newspapers. We have nothing. We are empty-handed. They have the power. But remember, we have seen and fully sized up the "paper tiger of power." Come now, into the open. We don't believe in taking the enemy unawares. I have warned you that your encounter in the coming elections is going to be with no less a force than the people. They are unlike the old political parties. They are not the army of Mohammad Shah Rangeela either. You are going to face a revolutionary party which is armed with a popular, revolutionary programme.

The Government has soiled hands. They are stained with corruption, black-marketing, exploitation and oppression. Our hands are clean. We have

never sucked the blood of the people. Our hands have been strengthened by the friendship and affection of the people. Our hands are the hands of the people. These hands will overthrow the big dictators from power.

I am very happy today to see our party organised on revolutionary lines within a short time of one year. Its organisational branches are being opened in every corner of Pakistan. Our party has the support and cooperation of the people. But there are still difficulties ahead which we have to overcome with courage and perseverance. We will overcome them. Our destination is still far away. Therefore, move forward, march forward.

The poor of the country, labourers, peasants and students are calling on you for help. Go and help them. I order you to make the service of the people your foremost duty. I am proud of the fact that there is no dearth in our party of such workers who are more valuable than pearls and jewels. I am sure a day will come when they will shine in the sky of politics like the sun and the moon, although they are unknown in politics. You may remember, I told you in Lahore a year ago that the People's Party did not have a big name. It would create big names from within its rank and file. Greatness comes only from service. You must always indulge in self-analysis, self-criticism. It should be made a continuing process, for self-examination alone will improve, organise and strengthen the party. Although the Government keeps on harping about my isolation, it claims I have no friends, the poor people are in fact with me. God is with me.

I request you to make the best use of each moment. It is time we work harder and harder day and night. We should not let our enthusiasm cool down after a few days. I confess we are prone to become too happy too soon, but then this happiness also vanishes in the same way. If, however, a balance is maintained, the struggle continues. The days of frustration are over. You should do the party work with full zeal. Your party has a comprehensive programme.

Understand it first, and then take it to all corners of the country, explaining it from village to village, from door to door. Prepare the nation for a popular struggle. Yours is a popular programme. Take it to the common man. It aims at eliminating the exploitation and monopoly of the twenty-two families. It echoes the voice of all patriots. Ignore the wealth and power of the 22 families. Leave them aside and concentrate on organising the patriotic elements. Then set up a broader, national democratic front on this basis. You must in this venture take with you all sections of the population, from a labourer to the peasant; from peasant to patriotic landlords. Only such programmes and manifestos bring about popular changes and political and economic resolution. Only those changes last for which struggles have been waged on the basis of programmes and ideologies. Now you tell me what better manifesto could there be than the one I have given you?

Our manifesto—"Islam is our religion, democracy is our polity and socialism is our economy"—ensures a victory; your victory, to reach the common man as quickly as possible. Give the message of struggle by holding public meetings. The people are prepared to follow you. I wish to join in your revolutionary struggle everywhere, all the time. But you know my responsibilities. I have to work in the whole of Pakistan. I have to supervise the party's organisational work. And then, as you know, I have other responsibilities as well. Therefore, carry on your work without feeling my absence.

I know the people came to this convention in large numbers. They wanted to hear my views. But the space seems to be insufficient. I will, however, hold another public meeting in Hyderabad very soon so that I may be able to talk to the broad masses of the people. I have to address similar gatherings in Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, Multan and East Pakistan. I have promised the people of Lahore a public meeting. But that meeting will be arranged at a more suitable time, for it will be vitally important for the nation as a whole. I will then make a major speech on the war and Tashkent Declaration. I have chosen Lahore for

this purpose because the enemy began its aggression by attacking that city. And the same city first gave its blood in protest against the Tashkent Declaration.

I want to tell the tyrants:

We have patiently put up with your oppression and exploitation for very many years. After all there is an end to everything. We just cannot bear it any longer. Your excesses have blinded you to the need of having any regard for national honour. After all I have been a Foreign Minister of this country, a Minister who frustrated the conspiracy of the enemy and countered it on each and every front. I am the same Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who carried the fight to the Security Council for the freedom of the Kashmiris and against the Indian aggression on Pakistan.

And now you are determined to present a national leader as a criminal in the country's court of law. Just think how happy Pakistan's enemies will be at this action. I am the same Bhutto whose name makes the imperialists and the Indian expansionists sweat. Remember I am the same Bhutto whom you sent to China at a very critical hour. And when I came back successful, you embraced me with joy. You said: "Mr. Bhutto, nobody else could have done this job so well. The nation will be grateful to you for ever."

I ask you Mr. President: "Is this the reward for my services? Who persuaded Soekarno, that great son of Indonesia, to send submarines and ships to help Pakistan? I challenge you now to acquire even a single screw, what to speak of submarines and ships from that country. You have not only betrayed us but also Pakistan's sincere friends. You claim that you have the ability to discriminate between friend and foe. This is untrue. You are still in league with the enemies of the country. That is why you have alienated friends at home and abroad. You are today harassing a man like me whom you had embraced

yesterday. I am not scared of your Tehsildars. I am not afraid of you. I only fear God."

My dear brothers:

Critical times lie ahead. Symptoms of a severe political clash are in sight. You know I have been trying to forge some sort of agreement among the opposition parties on the basis of a political and economic programme. We are always prepared to cooperate in principle, on the basis of a minimum programme. We invite the opposition for cooperation on matters such as the restoration of democracy and socialism, adult franchise and independent foreign policy. But we, the torchbearers of socialism, believe that the introduction of real democracy and political freedom is impossible without economic justice. So we demand the inclusion of economic and financial problems in the programme of the combined opposition. On this basis we are always ready for cooperation. These problems include abolition of feudalism, protection of the rights of peasants, and labourers; their right to strike; nationalisation of all key and basic industries, nationalisation of transport; and nationalisation of education.

My dear friends, it is said that I am a wealthy man and a feudal lord. It is said that I have no right to struggle for socialism without distributing my wealth among the people. I would like to tell such people that socialism cannot be brought about by a single individual distributing his wealth among the people. Socialism can be introduced only when all means of production—are brought under state control. But even so I hereby announce that if my wealth can be of any good to the nation I will not hesitate to give it away. But I cannot be so foolish as to hand my wealth over to capitalists and feudalists under the capitalistic system, so as to enable the rulers to make more money and spend more on their luxuries. Well, if the Government is courageous enough to introduce socialism, it is welcome to do so. I will be the first man to place my wealth under national control.

But beware you cannot fool the people by such useless arguments. I believe in socialism; that is why I have left my class and joined the labourers, peasants and poor students. I love them. And what can I get from them except affection and respect? No power on earth can stop socialism—the symbol of justice, equality and the supremacy of man—from being introduced in Pakistan. It is the demand of time and history. And you can see me raising this revolutionary banner among the masses. I am a socialist, and an honest socialist, who will continue to fight for the poor till the last moment of his life. Some ridicule me for being a socialist. I don't care.

I do agree that socialism cannot be brought about unless its leadership is assumed by peasants, labourers and the oppressed classes. But I must tell my critics that history is replete with instances where wealthy individuals have abandoned the interests of their class, joined the ranks of the oppressed and risen in rebellion against the community to which they belonged. I am such a person.

Such people came forward in the French Revolution to help the oppressed classes against their masters. They were also behind the overthrow of the Czarists in the October Revolution in Russia. In fact, they were the first to establish the rule of labourers and the oppressed.

There were similar revolutionaries in China who set up an unparalleled socialist revolutionary system by defeating the tyranny of imperialism and capitalism.

I am like those Ahl-i-Quraish who rejected worldly riches and lined up behind the Prophet of Islam in order to spread the message of liberty, equality and peace. I only want to bring about a revolution in Pakistan. To achieve this objective I have been trying to forge a popular, democratic front. I know that

dictatorship cannot be ended by elections alone. Basically it can be ended only through a popular struggle or a war or both. A vote has significance only in a democracy. It is useless in a dictatorship. But that does not mean that the coming elections should not be fought or that dictatorship should not be challenged. The Quaid's sister rose against dictatorship; she had the support of the people, but dictatorship remained. However, the struggle contributed to the awakening and consciousness of the masses. This progress could not have taken place had the Madar-i-Millat not contested the elections.

True, the Government will let terror loose during the elections, but we will participate in them, if only to organise and unite the people against dictatorship. Socialism provides for weakening a dictatorship through popular movements. We will fight the elections, for we believe it will further weaken dictatorship. We have to overpower this dictatorship step by step. As you know, as soon as this Government stopped the war, it suffered a blow. The Tashkent Declaration was yet another blow. The decline of Kalabagh crippled it. My separation dismembered it further, and this half-dead body now awaits to be kicked out by an organised movement of the masses.

My dear brothers:

I want to see a principled, united front formed by all opposition parties on the basis of socialism and democracy. If some people feel sick of socialism, let us then form a front on the basis of democracy and a minimum economic programme. Our party is always ready for such a united front. I will be happy to see a suitable candidate contesting from East Pakistan, for we have obligations towards the people of that wing. But if such a candidate is not forthcoming from East Pakistan, let someone, acceptable to the people, come forward from West Pakistan; I will be prepared to work for such a person as an ordinary worker. But if no popular figure comes from either East or West Pakistan, I will recite the Kalima and step forward. I vow to the people of

Hyderabad that I will confront this dictatorship come what may. Victory will certainly be ours.

Struggle for Pakistan's Betterment
Speech at a Public Meeting,
Kohat, October 25, 1968

I am very grateful to you for coming to this meeting. I had for long wanted to visit Kohat and speak to you. That is the way of politics. Every political party must go to the people and present its political and economic programme.

Since I left the Government I have thought over many of our problems. I want to present my views on these problems to the people but the regime does not like it. When I was in Government, I was able to do much useful work. I undertook many special assignments in the national interest and successfully accomplished them. At that time the people at the helm of affairs showered praises on me and told me that the nation will always be obliged to me for what I had done. The award of Hilal-e-Pakistan was conferred upon me. Now the same Government has left no stone unturned in carrying out a campaign of slanderous propaganda against me. All the Ministers have tried their best that I should lose my popularity among the people.

I want to advise this Government as I advised them during my eight years of Ministership; I want to warn them that they may undo my influence with the people but they cannot wipe it off the pages of history. If they want to undo my popularity, they should serve the people. If they serve the people, if they wipe out bribery and corruption, if they serve the cause of the students who are the future of this country, if they serve the labourers, they will gain popularity and all their opponents will lose their influence.

But false accusations cannot undo it. They regard the people as ignorant and are sadly mistaken. People are wide-awake now. The Government regards them incapable of exercising their right of vote; hence their introduction of the Basic Democracy system. The fact is that the people of Pakistan have always

been politically conscious. I have full faith in our people while you have no faith in them. Government will never serve them. It will never serve the labourers and the peasants. It will only serve the 22 families. Government says that bribery cannot be wiped out. It rather advises the people to refrain from giving bribes and tells them that if they do not bribe the officials, this curse will go automatically. They regard it as a very complicated problem. Nor can they root out poverty. Why can't they do so? They say that it is God's will that there should be poverty in the country. It follows that they are incapable of solving the problems of bribery and poverty.

All right. Let them do something about Kashmir. But they will fail again. They cannot do anything about Kashmir also because for them this is a very complicated problem. I say, if you cannot eradicate poverty, if you cannot root out bribery, if you cannot solve the Kashmir problem, then get out. Allow us to take over. What is this nonsense that after 10 years in power your Government is not in a position to solve any of the problems faced by the nation. These are very important problems. You do not solve them nor are you prepared to give up the reins of Government. If you don't do so, we shall force you to give up.

When I make such speeches you say that I am inciting the people to rebel. I am a common man. I am not a General with a gun. I cannot order rebellions. I shall only work among my brothers and through them I shall work among the students and the labourers. I don't have any police, no officers, no army. I am just a common man from Sind. How can I spread rebellion? Even if I take off my jacket they take exception to that. I made a speech in Hyderabad during summer. It was hot so I took off my coat and put it on the table. Later the Governor went there and held a meeting. He said, "Bhutto took off his coat." My answer is that I took off my coat because it was hot, and to face your challenge I shall not only take off my coat but also roll up my sleeves.

I am not afraid of you. I am not afraid of your Defence of Pakistan Rules and your Security Act. You have used them for your protection. You throw into jail anyone who criticises you. Why don't you put me in jail? I am ready for that. If you put me in jail the people will turn you out of the Government. So you dare not arrest me. If you do that, the students, the labourers, the peasants who support me will turn you out. You regard this nation as weak. You are running your Government with force and suppression. You are bound to meet an ignominious end. We are struggling for democracy and we shall continue to struggle for democracy. We have an economic programme, a socialist programme. There are only 22 families who have usurped the economic resources of the whole country. These families have monopolised the wealth of the nation. It was said before Martial Law that there were 600 zamindars and out of them only 200 were ruling the country. Now a score of families wield power. This is the progress our country has made during the Martial Law regime; from 600 the monopoly of the economy of the country has gone into the hands of 20 or so families. May I know which other country in the world has such a system? Even in America, the centre of capitalism, such a wretched system does not exist. They don't have 22 families controlling the entire capital of the land. This system of ours has no parallel in the world.

When I say that we shall take away the wealth of the nation out of the control of these 22 families and nationalise it, they say I am spreading rebellion. This is no rebellion. This is justice. We demand justice and fairplay.

The Government says that the opposition parties have no programme. They don't have any ideology, no clear objectives. They only want power. I want to ask the Government is democracy not a programme? Isn't it a system? Isn't socialism a system? What system do you have? What is the system of this Government? The system of this Government is the exploitation of the people, making personal property and mills, and filling their purses and bank accounts.

This Government is sucking the blood of the people. That is its ideology. Why do they blame the opposition parties for lack of a system?

We demand democracy and they give us Basic Democracy. If Basic Democracy is democracy, then why does every country not have it? If this is such a good system then the whole world should have had this system. But nowhere in the world is this system in vogue. Neither in America, nor in England, nor in France nor in India nor in China nor in Russia. Even then we are told that this is a wonderful system. Their political programme is practical only in Pakistan. The whole world is wrong; only this Government is right. Their system alone is just.

But this system cannot survive long because it is an anti-people system. I repeat this anti-people system cannot work and is bound to fail. This system has germinated bribery. There was bribery in the country but not on this scale. Now the poor people have to pay at every step because the Basic Democracy system demands it. You say that bribery cannot end. It can certainly end if you keep your hands clean, you give up the lust for wealth and property. We want to tell you that we can uproot bribery. You can also do it, provided your hands are clean.

I said in Hyderabad that I have come into the field. I shall serve my people. I am prepared to die for my people and I have burnt my boats. That is what jolted the Government but I am not afraid of it nor of its black laws. I am not afraid of their police. They can fabricate as many cases against me as they want. I shall face the Government on all fronts. If they want to compete in the political field, I am ready. If they let loose suppression and tyranny, I shall stand against it. Go and fabricate false cases against me. If they want to put me in jail I am prepared for it but I am not prepared to give up my principles.

I know the plight of the poor in the country. I was just talking of bribery and corruption. These are not the only vices. Where is the law and order which is so

much talked about? Maybe you have it here in Kohat but in my area there is no law and order. Thefts are common and no one in the Government bothers about them. Here too, I learn there is a dacoit. The Government is afraid of him. I don't know him. Somebody told me about him in the train. So if that is the state of affairs, where is the law of the land? What about the future of the poor people? What should the poor people do? What is the course of action left open to them?

Then there is the curse of bureaucracy which has spread its tentacles so far and deep that officials regard themselves as the real masters of the country. They are no longer servants of the Government. They are its masters. They have also acquired political power. Why is that so? There is a purpose behind it all. It is the Basic Democracies system. The officers have been given excessive powers to be useful in the elections. I know all the officers are not corrupt. There are many who consider themselves public servants. They are performing their duty and don't exceed the limits of the law. I admire them. I hold such officers in high esteem.

I have been permitted to hold this public meeting here and this has not made the heavens fall. I have come and spoken to you. This has not started a revolution. But in many other places where I go they do not allow me to hold public meetings without giving any reason. Sometimes the permission is refused on whimsical grounds. Section 144 is being enforced in so many places, that it appears to be the only law in the land. The irony is that while we are refused permission to hold a public meeting, the rulers are allowed to do so the very next day. What a strange way to enforce the law!

Only yesterday, I was refused permission to hold a public meeting in Peshawar. On the other hand, the Governor sahib is going there on the 28th and he will address a public meeting. Then probably on the 10th Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, Hilal-e-Jurat, Hilal-e-Pakistan etc., etc., will come and address a meeting. The officers who behave like this and discriminate in the

operation of the law don't consider themselves as public servants. They think they are the personal servants of the rulers. I want to remind such officers that they are the servants of the state. They are nobody's personal servants. They are paid by the people, not by General Musa's bank. Their salaries are drawn from the taxes paid by the people. Of course, the present rulers have enough money in banks to pay the salaries of the Government servants but anyway for the time being the Government servants are being paid from the public exchequer. They owe their fat salaries and high prestige to the public. They are not paid to act as yes-men. They are required to advise the Government correctly and act according to the law. They should tell the Government that its demands are illegal. The Government servants are supposed to refuse the illegal demands of the Ministers. That is why they are paid and given respect and honour. They must advise the Government against adopting incorrect policies. Governments may come and go but the officers are to serve permanently. It is their responsibility to guide the Government properly.

What are the present-day government officers doing? They don't have the courage to say no to an unjust demand of the Government. They always say yes. In fact, they go a step further and act like sycophants. They always appreciate the ideas expressed by those who are in power. When these bureaucrats have failed to do their duty, what is the need of keeping them in service? Perhaps, they are required by the rulers to win elections. That is one reason why so much power has been bestowed upon them. That is why this Government cannot control them. That is why they openly indulge in corruption. They do not conceal their acceptance of bribes. They do not accept illegal gratification in the darkness of the night or under the table. They do it openly and demand it openly because they are not afraid of anyone. They are not accountable to anyone. There is no one to turn them out because this Government depends upon them. This Government is always conscious that it has to win the elections through these officers. The result is that bribery is on the increase. Their pomp and show is on

the increase. The poor people can't have their problems solved. If for no other reason, we need democracy for this reason alone.

In a democratic system people elect their representatives. The power is in the hands of the people and not in the hands of a few bodyguards. In a democracy the elected representatives cannot ignore the people for fear of being rejected in the next polls. We, therefore, have to struggle for democracy of the people.

At present there is concentration of political power. The economic power of the country is also concentrated in the hands of the 22 families. They can indulge in any amount of black marketing or smuggling. Nobody dare touch them. This Government depends on these families for its elections as it does on the officers. Under this corrupt system the country can never progress and the problems of the common man can never be solved.

Our struggle is for the betterment of Pakistan. It is not a question of personal differences. It is also not a matter of clash of personalities. I want to make it clear that there is no personal element in it. We differ on principles and want to fight for principles. Strange are the ways of this Government! If we demand the rights of the common man, the Government comes out with a conspiracy case. If we talk of economic salvation of the people, leaders are jailed. They make every matter personal. When I make a speech and say that people should be given their rights, propaganda is launched against me that I am trying to launch a revolution, that I want bloodshed in the country. I am not afraid of it. I say that I want a revolution in the country. But who said first that there would be bloodshed in the country. You may not remember it but it was Ayub Khan who first said that there would be bloodshed in the country. He said it during the election campaign against Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah. When he talks of bloodshed it is considered neither a crime nor rebellion. I say that if this suppression and tyranny continues, it may plunge the country into a bloodbath

and it is no crime to say so. Why do you charge me with fomenting a revolution? I say that if Government does not mend its ways there will be trouble. After all there have been troubles in other countries.

Why do they object to my talking of revolution, when they are celebrating ten years of their revolution? They claim to have brought about a revolution! We know the real worth of this revolution. We know the reality of the ten years of progress. If the word revolution is not liked by you, then don't talk of a revolution yourself. Or do you mean that a revolution in your favour is good and a revolution in favour of the common man is undesirable?

They are already preparing to contest the elections. But their preparations for the elections are confined to the collection of money from the 22 families. What type of preparation for elections is this? The real preparation is to go to the people and to serve them but they will not do it. They will only demand money from the 22 families. We know very well the type of elections to be held under the present system. The elections in this system are won through officers, through police and through money. People do not come into the picture because they do not have the vote. It is 1,20,000 'Brahmins' which ill vote. The opposition parties have not decided to take part in the elections, because they have no faith left in the system. They do not regard it as an election of the people. It is only our party, the Pakistan People's Party which has decided to participate in the elections. They may use their police and officers and wealth but we will take part in the elections. It is not because we have faith in it. It is the need of the hour. We know that this path is thorny and there will be many trials and tribulations but we must do our duty towards the nation and that is why we will take part in these elections.

That is one way to serve the people. It educates the people and makes them more and more conscious of national problems. You can well understand that if Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah had not contested the elections what difference it

would have made; but she was not worried about victory or defeat. She had only the service of the people in mind. As a matter of fact her participation in the elections made the people rise from their slumber and the Government also realised that the people were against them. If she had not contested the elections, the political awakening which we see today would have been impossible. These elections again provided us with an opportunity. We know that the present system is defective. In a democratic system people are allowed to cast their votes directly. The ballot boxes in the present system play many tricks with the votes placed in them, even with 120,000 votes. But we are not worried. We are not worried about victory. We are not after power. We have no lust for power. The present rulers are the ones who have lust for power. Even after 10 years of power and even after having seen the hatred of the people, they are not prepared to quit the Government.

The present rulers have seen that the people of this area are against them. The people of Bengal are against them. The people of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and Frontier are against them. There is no area, howsoever small, in this vast country where the people favour this Government. Right from Khyber to Karachi and from Karachi to Chittagong, the whole country is fed up with them. People are simply disgusted but the rulers are not prepared to go out of office. They charge me with lust for power, forgetting I gave up power for principles.

I have told you that the people nowhere are happy with this Government. But one can look at the whole affair from another angle. May we ask them what the plight of the workers is? What do they get? What wages are paid to them? What are the facilities they enjoy? Do they enjoy medical care? Do they get food, clothing and shelter? Nowhere in the world is the worker so poor. Animals in other countries lead a better life.

What about the farmers? They are even worse off. They are living in stark poverty. The labourers are poor and the farmers are poor and these classes constitute 80 per cent of the population.

Then they accuse me of misleading the students. How can I mislead the students? They are educated, they are conscious. Do you allow me to meet the students? Do you allow me to go and address them in the universities? Never. Ever since I have left the Government, I have not been permitted to speak to the students of the Peshawar University even once. I have never been allowed to go to the Punjab, the Sind, the Karachi or the Dacca universities. How then can I mislead them?

And so far as the reporting of my speeches in the press is concerned, they publish what is never said by me. They distort my views. Those sitting in Islamabad, these know-alls should take off their spectacles.

If I am allowed to go and speak in the universities, if the papers don't carry my speeches while the Government's allegations against me are published, and if the Government also controls the radio and every T.V, programme, how then and by what means am I misleading the students?

The fact is that students understand the issues before us. The rulers dare not meet them. Why don't the rulers ask the students why they are hostile to them and their University Ordinance? Uncertainty has been introduced into their future. If their cooperation is needed, the Government should look into their problems; open new colleges for them; give them more schools: and reduce the fees.

And if the Government knew about the students' problems why did it not solve them before they took out processions and demonstrated? Does this mean that the rulers were teaching them the lesson that the people's problems will

never be solved unless they demonstrate, and launch a campaign? Nothing was done for the students of Karachi till their Struggle began. It was only when they had left their classrooms that the Government declared that it will solve their problems. I must say that this is a very strange policy that as long as the people are quiet, nothing is done to solve their problems or to end their exploitation. There is a limit to toleration. When that limit is crossed, people are bound to launch a struggle. Then it is said that some disruptionist is at their back. How can one disruptionist misguide millions of people? The people are restive because during the last ten years their problems have never received proper consideration.

Whenever I declare that I would say something about the Tashkent Declaration, it is said that I am under an oath not to divulge any secrets of the Government I never said that I shall reveal as to how the meeting was arranged and how the agreement was signed. If I had said that, it would have been against my oath. I only said that I shall talk about Tashkent and there is no secret about it. If it is a secret that the Tashkent Declaration was signed then I am guilty, but everyone knows that there was an agreement at Tashkent. The whole world knows about it. It is no secret. Why is the Government afraid of it? It is not without reason and the reason is that they have committed so many blunders.

I had said at Hyderabad that when the time comes I shall speak on Tashkent in Karachi or Lahore, and when the time comes I will make a speech in Lahore, whatever the cost. The Government may try to frighten me but I know what is meant by an oath. It is they who don't know the sanctity of the oath. May I ask under what oath was Martial Law declared? They should not try to educate me on these matters. Whatever I feel is in the interest of the nation I shall speak about. That is my duty. At the appropriate time I shall speak on the subject in Lahore.

Gentlemen! You should have a little patience I shall come to Kohat again. The time has come when the rulers will also come out. So they will come and we shall come too. We shall come before you. We shall come with empty hands. Our pockets will be empty. We don't have money to misuse in the Basic Democracies' system. We don't have the police with batons. We don't have Government servants with us who place our votes in the ballot boxes. We shall come as we are and, brothers, we shall be victorious *Insha Allah*, because we shall fight for the cause of the people, for their self-determination for the betterment of their lot. It will be in your interest that we win.

My dear brothers! This time will pass. The kingdoms of Alexander and Pharaohs have perished. Nobody's rule is permanent. This Government too will go one day.

Good deeds will be remembered. If somebody has served the people he will be remembered. You know that the Quaid-i-Azam was in public life for 40 years but he was in power for just over a year. All his life he Struggled and was in the opposition. Congress offered all types of temptations to him. They offered to give him the top position in India if he gave up the demand for Pakistan, but he refused. Although he was in power for less than two years his glory is great and unequalled. Then there was Sher-e-Bengal Fazl-ul-Haq. How long was he in power? Only a few years of his long life of 90 years, but he is referred to as the Lion of Bengal today. It does not matter how long one holds the reins of power. Power is temporary. It has got to go one day. If I say that the days of this Government are numbered, this is not spreading rebellion.

This System is Wrong
Address to Party Workers,
Peshawar, October 26, 1968

Gentlemen:

Any system of Government has three special aspects, the constitutional, the political and the economic. Now let us assess the so-called ten years of progress of our Government from these angles. Look at the Constitution. It is not democratic, nor parliamentary nor presidential. It is not based on any constitutional principles. Right or wrong, there is a system of parliamentary government. It may not succeed but it is based on certain principles. Then there is the presidential system. But our Constitution is neither parliamentary nor presidential.

A constitution can either be unitary or federal. Our Constitution again is neither unitary nor federal. A constitution also defines the functions of the legislature and judiciary. Our Constitution only defines the functions of the executive. The legislature has no powers although they are called the representatives of the people. In spite of this they want us to believe that this is a democratic constitution. The Basic Democracies' system is not a democratic system.

We want democracy, not these indirect elections through 1,20,000 Basic Democrats. The Government thinks that they have bestowed a great favour upon us by increasing the number of Basic Democrats from 80,000 to 1,20,000. We are indeed very grateful to them. They have done a great favour to us, the poor, ignorant people. We are all sick people. The whole nation is sick. They are our doctors and they are curing us gradually. Our fever is going down. We have slightly recovered in the last ten years. Our ignorance is declining. That is why they have increased the number of our representatives by 40,000. They should be ashamed of calling it a democratic system. It is not democratic by any

standard. If it was a democratic system, the leading democracies of the world, who have struggled so hard for democracy, would have adopted it. These countries faced many revolutions. The most important and the first of such revolutions was in France, the famous French Revolution. Why does France not have the Basic Democracies system?

Last May there were disturbances by the students and the workers in France. When I went there in July, I asked them the cause of the unrest. I told them France had made wonderful progress during the last ten years. France had been subservient to Britain and now Britain wanted to join the European Common Market which was under French influence. France had lost all prestige and now it was referred to as a great country. Then why were they restive? What was wrong with them? They admitted that there was democracy in their country but they said de Gaulle had ruled over them for ten long years and this was "intellectual dictatorship." They did not want to tolerate a man who had ruled for ten years. This is the measure of their democracy. So France does not have this system of Basic Democracies. England does not have this system. Even America, which is the master of our rulers, does not have this system. Why do they want to make Pakistan such a distinctive country? The worst bribery in the world is in Pakistan. The worst system of government is in Pakistan. The worst economic exploitation is in Pakistan. The worst tyranny is in Pakistan. The worst bureaucracy is in Pakistan and the least respect for law is also in Pakistan. This is the progress made during the last ten years. They can be proud of their system; the people are sick of it.

Now what is the purpose of the Basic Democracies system, which you can never call a democratic system? It is to elect the President of Pakistan and members of the Assemblies. They tell us that the Basic Democrats are elected through adult franchise. What difference does that make? If the representative, of the people go to the Assemblies, they are responsible to them. They enjoy some powers. They are no decoration pieces or flower bouquets. You tell us that there

are hundreds of members of the National Assembly. But what are their powers? In the first instance, these members are not elected through a democratic method. Then they don't have any powers over the finances of the country. That is the real authority of a sovereign assembly, but our members cannot make any changes in the budget provisions. So this Constitution has no principles, presidential or parliamentary, federal or unitary and the legislatures are deprived of all powers. I don't want to say anything about the judiciary. I have a lot of respect for the judiciary. I am an advocate and hold the judiciary in high esteem. It is the judiciary which has saved this country. All other doors are closed. This is the only door which is open. Now the rulers are trying to close this door too.

They say that this Constitution has been tried for ten years and this Constitution will continue for the welfare of the people. I want to say clearly that this Constitution will stay only as long as President Ayub Khan stays. After him this unjust and unnatural Constitution will have to go. That is the worth of this Constitution. They say that this Constitution has brought stability to the country. Yes, but it is the stability of the graveyard. What do they mean by stability? Stability does not mean the suppression of the people. It does not mean hating the common man and confiscating his rights. One of the great Greek philosophers said about dictators that "they cause devastation and call it peace." That exactly is the stability that exists here: stability and peace born out of devastation and destruction.

May we ask what is the need for this stability? What is its scope? What is its utility? Stability is required by a Government to present its policies before the people and to act upon them. Stability affords a chance to the people to judge for themselves the different aspects of a policy and its results.

But what are the policies of this Government? Which one of their policies has been consistent? When this Government came to power, in the very first speech delivered by Ayub Khan on 8th October, 1958, the politicians were

dubbed as traitors and tyrants. We were told that they would be forcibly retired from politics forever. Now after eight years, the same politicians are being made Ministers.

It was also said that no political parties will be allowed in the country because political parties had ruined the country. The Basic Democracies system was created with that in view. Five or six years later, President Ayub himself assumed the office of the President of Muslim League and said that without the progress of this party, the country could not progress. Is this what is called stability and is this the consistency in his policies?

It was said land reforms were necessary because the real power should be in the hands of the cultivator. The landlords held all political power. They were called tyrants and it was declared that the 600 families of zamindars were responsible for destroying Pakistan by sucking the blood of the poor people. So land reforms were heralded with a lot of fanfare and trumpeting. It was declared that the death knell of feudalism had been sounded. Then what happened was that the worst tyrant among the feudal lords, the Nawab of Kalabagh, was appointed Governor of West Pakistan. The wealth of the 600 families was concentrated in the hands of 22 families. This is the record of those who ask for stability.

Leaving aside internal problems, let us take up foreign policy. When this Government came into power it was said that America was the only friend of Pakistan. It was said that America was a natural friend of Pakistan and that this great power was giving us economic and military aid and under no circumstances would we spoil our relations with her. Many of you may have forgotten but some of my friends here will recall that during those days if someone happened to talk to the Russian or Chinese ambassadors, he became a suspect and the CID shadowed him. No one who accepted an invitation from these embassies was spared. The distribution of their literature was banned. I am not disclosing any

defence secrets. The rulers may accuse me of disclosing official secrets but I am not doing that. I am only uncovering their faces, taking off their masks. It has become a fashion for our rulers to cover their misdeeds under the cover of official secrets.

They try to frighten me when I expose their nefarious activities. They can try to frighten me because they are powerful dictators of the country. But do they think I am afraid of them? I challenge them to come and compete with me in the political field. Let them bring their police. Let them get the help of their officers and their wealth. We are not armed with weapons. We don't have their police, their press and their so-called weapons. We don't have access to radio and television. We don't have the power of the administration behind us. In spite of this we are ready to face them because our hands are clean. Our intentions are clear. They may keep their wealth and officers with them, even their guns.

If they have the 22 families on their side, we have the support of the workers. If they have officers, we have the students and above all our cause is just while they stand for an unjust cause. We shall fight them and we are not afraid of them. We are afraid only of God Almighty. That is what our religion teaches us. We have come into the open to bring to an end this tyranny and suppression and we shall never retreat. We shall advance and never retrace our steps.

I have already discussed the Constitution with you. In so far as their political policy is concerned there is only one principle of their policy and that is "Power and power at all costs." That is the basic political policy of the Government; power through the Basic Democracies system in which the officers will play an important role. That is how they want to perpetuate their rule.

Let me now come to the much talked-about economic policy, which according to them has put the country on the path of progress, progress hitherto

unknown in Pakistan. The fact remains that economic development in 1930 was ahead of development in 1920; in 1940 it was ahead of 1930. That is how it goes. Some mills are established, some roads are constructed, some buildings come up as time passes. There is nothing remarkable about it. The point is how did all this benefit the common man? What is the plight of the workers today? How much has poverty spread in the country? It was no divine law that poverty must prevail in the country. They want us to believe that the country has progressed on the basis of certificates obtained from abroad. Their Finance Minister goes abroad to the World Bank and tells us that Mr. McNamara, the World Bank President, has commended the progress made by Pakistan. Our criteria is not your certificates from the World Bank. We want to assess the progress on the basis of the lot of the common man. Have you ever felt the pain and misery in which the common man lives? Go to the villages and see the conditions of life of a worker and compare it with those in Europe and America. What have you done to improve the living conditions of the poor workers? Sometimes he does not get wheat, he does not get sugar and at certain times he is even deprived of water. Then you tell us the country has progressed while the living conditions of the workers and the peasants who comprise 80 per cent of the population are deteriorating every day.

Law and order has broken down. What should the poor people do? What about the protection of their lives and poverty? How can they educate their children? You have not opened any colleges for them. There has been no improvement in the universities. There has been no progress in the field of education. Education has been bound with chains through the University Ordinance. You can even withdraw a degree under this Ordinance. This was not done even by Hitler. Then we are accused of misleading the students. There is no need for us to mislead them. You are yourselves creating doubts in their minds. You are suppressing them. You don't allow them to pursue their studies peacefully. You doubt their integrity. You suppress them and your explanation is that India is a threat, that India is four or five times bigger than Pakistan.

We have seen the map of India. Don't keep repeating this to us because we are not that ignorant. We have seen the size of India. Why merely repeat that India is a large country, that she has many factories, that many more factories are coming up there? I have said all this as Foreign Minister. Why don't you introduce military training in the universities? Military training should be imparted in the universities and the masses should be prepared for a people's war. If you think it is difficult to face India because of her size and resources, then look at Vietnam, a small country. They are facing a power like America because it is not only the army which is fighting there, it is the entire nation. If the people fight, there may be destruction and losses, but there can never be a defeat. We are proud of our army. It is unparalleled in the world. It is a gallant army and all of us are proud of its performance in the last war. Even then if you have to be really prepared to fight against an enemy which is much larger in size and resources, and has more weapons and army, then the only way is to prepare the people. Introduce military training in the universities and be prepared for a people's war. But you will never do it because you are afraid of the people. You hate them and have no faith in them. If you had any regard for the people you would never have allowed the 22 families to usurp the wealth of the country. The people are denied the money earned by them.

When I say that we shall gradually nationalise the mills and factories they say that this is socialism which is against Islam. Then the rulers say that I am a rich man and a landlord. How can I be a socialist? My brothers: The answer is simple. What is the message of Islam? What is Islam based upon? It is based upon equality. Well, if Islam stands for equality how can the present system be Islamic? It can certainly never be called Islamic. You call this country the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Governor Musa of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan during his speech in Hyderabad said with contempt that there were rickshawallas and tongawallas and workers at Bhutto's meeting. Brothers: Is this equality? Why hate the poor people? Why talk about them with such contempt as if they were

beasts? That is why these rulers cannot come out. That is why they cover their noses when they come close to the poor.

Socialism is not against Islam. There is no conflict between the two whatsoever. Had that been the case there would have been no socialism in Egypt. Are all Muslims of Egypt infidels? Why is there socialism in Algeria? Why was there socialism in Indonesia during the time of President Soekarno? Why is Southern Yemen establishing a socialist system? If there was any conflict between socialism and Islam we would never have been socialists. We are Muslims first and anything else later. Governor Musa who is opposed to socialism believes in the personality cult. They look at everything from that angle. Everyone cannot think alike but no one should look at things from a personal angle. Those who want the nation to progress must be prepared for sacrifice. Mine is not the first example of being a big landlord believing in socialism. There are many capitalists who believe in the principles of socialism. They go beyond their personal interest and follow the right path because they believe in it. So mine is not the first example. If the nation progresses and prospers, so do I. But if I am living in luxury and comfort but my nation is poor I won't regard it as progress at all. That is what has happened in Russia and China. The best example was set by the early Muslims. There were many among the Quraish who were big businessmen but they joined the ranks of the poor in following the Holy Prophet and surrendered their wealth for his cause because they believed in the truth of the cause. They believed, so they followed the right path in the service of Islam and sacrificed their personal interest.

When I say that this system is wrong, its Constitution is wrong, its political and economic policies are wrong. I am dubbed as a traitor. I was not a traitor when I was with them. Praises were then showered on me. Now I am a traitor. They are patriots and we are traitors because we demand democracy. We want real progress and justice. We want the coming generations to be educated. We want to eradicate poverty and bribery. We want to keep the bureaucrats within

their limits. We are traitors because of all this and they are patriots because they proposed joint defence with India, because they signed the Indus Basin Treaty and called it the salvation of the poor but when I referred to the international riparian law on the subject, they were cross with me. They are patriots because they allowed an American base to be established at Berubari and because they have not so far acquired Berubari. This is their patriotism.

As rulers you think you can misguide the public. You are sadly mistaken. The people in this country are wide awake. They are brave people, conscious of their rights. You can't misguide them. You may go on issuing your false statements. The nation knows everything and understands it. You are preparing for the elections now and the opposition has been put through many trials. We know that as time passes, troubles will increase for the opposition. There will be more and more repression. We should be ready to face repression. The opposition has a major responsibility. They should try to form a united front and face this dictatorship together. This will be our effort, the effort of the Pakistan People's Party.

We shall try to bring other parties on a common platform so that we fight unitedly in the forthcoming elections. If we are united, the contest will be much more tough than in the previous elections. We shall then see how they face us! The whole nation is awake, from Khyber to Karachi and from Karachi to Chittagong. You can go to any part of Pakistan and you will find the people are disgusted. That is the state of affairs here, in the Punjab, Sind, in Bengal and in Baluchistan. The students are dissatisfied, the cultivators are dissatisfied. Now if the whole nation is with us, they may have their police and their guns, but we shall fight and the people will emerge victorious.

What is Democracy?
Public Speech at Charsadda,
October 27, 1968

We are told that this is a democracy. What a strange democracy! They claim with pride that the country has a democratic constitution. What type of a democratic constitution is this? When the rulers deliver speeches special arrangements are made for them, but if we want to speak we are not allowed to do so. Many hurdles are put in our way. If they want to make the people hear their nonsense, why are we denied the right to speak? If they can go to the people, why can't we?

If the rulers can come and accuse us, we have every right to go to the people and tell them the truth. We are not enemies of the people. We have served the country. We stand for the welfare of the country. We can lay down our lives for the sake of this country. The rulers say that we are traitors. History will decide whether we are traitors or they are traitors. The times ahead will bring in a verdict. When we oppose the Government, charges are levelled against us. When we supported them they praised us.

I ask the rulers what have you done for the people during the last ten years? You can see it for yourself. The whole country can see it. We acknowledge that a few families have prospered a lot but the people have not, the workers have not, the farmers have not. Governor Musa has said about my Hyderabad meeting that there were tongawallas, rickshawallas and labourers in that meeting. I am proud of the fact that these workers were at my meeting. You have only lackeys in your meetings. The workers are with us. The peasants are with us. The students are with us. You only have lackeys with you. You can also have your police with you. That we don't mind. We stand for truth and for justice. They say who can challenge the Government? This is wrong. They should know that the nation can challenge the Government. If one stands for a just cause, one

can challenge anyone. If they had done justice, nobody could have challenged them.

To the Government I say don't try to frighten us or threaten us that we will be jailed, that you would institute cases against us, that you will issue statements against us. You are free to do anything you want. We are the least bothered about that. You can try to suppress us. You may even try to destroy us completely but we are going to stick to our principles. You are afraid of us. We can prove that. You are afraid of India, while India is afraid of us. You are afraid of the people. You cannot impress us. You can bring into the field all the might that you have. Also your wealth and your capabilities. I admit we have empty pockets. We don't have any money but we shall defeat the wealthy. These poor people cannot be influenced by wealth.

The elections are coming and the rulers are preparing for the elections. A lot of money is being collected. Now the President himself is coming to address a meeting in Peshawar and he will tell the people that the country has progressed a lot. This progress is that sometimes there is no sugar, no water, no wheat, no food and they want us to believe that there has been progress all around. They are very proud of having given us a Constitution. What is this Constitution? They do not understand it themselves. They do not follow their own constitution. There is a provision in the Constitution that if the President is unwell or goes out of the country, the Speaker of the Assembly is to act as President. You know when the President fell sick, the Speaker was dispatched to purchase carpets! This is how they respect their own Constitution.

Then they talk about political progress. What are their political principles? The political principle of the opposition is democracy but their principle is Basic Democracy. About economic issues, we hold that the people are the owners of national wealth while they believe that 22 families are the owners of this wealth. They tell us that bribery cannot be curbed as it is a very difficult problem. They

advise the people to refrain from offering bribes. That is how they want to solve this problem. We know that they cannot solve this problem. It is impossible for them to do it because they will never arrest the high-ups in bureaucracy. The big officers whose wives have built bungalows in Islamabad are responsible for encouraging bribery. This Government is dependent on these officers. These officers are running this Government. That is why they can't face the people.

I have extensively toured the country from Karachi to Chittagong. I have not noticed any sympathy for the Government among the masses. Nowhere are the people with them, neither here nor in the Punjab, nor in Bengal, nor in Sind, nor in Baluchistan. Nowhere in the world can you find a situation similar to the state of affairs in our country. The people are not with them. The students are not with them. The poor are not with them. The peasants are not with them. Only a few officers are running this Government. They have these officers, these policemen and these Basic Democrats. How long will they suppress the people of this country? They have already tortured the people a lot. The situation in Bengal is that hatred is spreading against West Pakistan. It will go on increasing, if you curb democracy, if you don't talk to East Pakistanis, if you go on ruling over them through your servants. How can they cooperate with you? How can they respect you? How can they have any regard for you?

Why is it that during this regime they put up the Six Points demand? There were no Six Points previously. If at all there has been a conspiracy at Agartala, it has been hatched during this regime. The situation during the past was that the leaders of this area, like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were elected from the other wing. It was because people there agreed with the previous Government, the country was independent and there was democracy in the country. Now the situation is that if you put one East Pakistani in jail, all of them consider themselves slaves. What have you done to Baluchistan? What tyrannies have you not perpetrated upon the people of Baluchistan? This Government should be ashamed of itself.

They say that they will construct a memorial in Karachi. What right do they have to construct a memorial? We shall construct a memorial in Karachi. We shall construct a memorial in Karachi to commemorate the martyrdom of the students who were killed by your firing during the demonstrations against Tashkent. You have no right to erect any memorial. Only the people have the right to build memorials.

A dictator brings destruction and calls it peace. He calls it stability. What stability is this? This is the stability of the graveyard.

Why the People's Party?
Speech at Party Meeting, Peshawar,
October 27, 1968

I cannot tender you any other advice but that the Pakistan People's Party is a party which has come into being on the basis of certain principles. Those principles are democracy, which is our polity, socialism, which is our economic programme, and Islam, which is our religion. We are struggling for these principles. The spokesmen of the regime say that the opposition parties don't have a programme. I can't speak on behalf of other opposition parties but our party has presented a solid programme. We have clearly enunciated our policies in our manifesto. We have explained in detail as to what our policy will be towards industry and agriculture. We have explained clearly as to how we propose to bring prosperity to the common man. We have made this abundantly clear in our manifesto.

But what about the policies of this Government? What are the guiding principles of their policies? They have not presented an economic programme during the last ten years. If their programme had been based on justice and equality, this country might as well have progressed. The progress of this country is confined to the pages of newspapers or the statements broadcast over the radio. That is the end of all progress. Everybody knows that the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of 22 families. Do you find such a state of affairs in any other country of the world? They try to follow America in many ways, but American economic policy is capitalism. They follow the principle of free enterprise. If you look at the American economy, you will not find national wealth in the hands of 22 families.

In fact no country in Asia and Africa can follow in the footsteps of America. When America came into being it was far away from the rest of the world. Wars and political strife in Europe did not affect it. The revolutions that took place in

Europe also did not have any effect on the American system. America had a small population, while its resources were immensely vast. Because of these two factors the system of free enterprise flourished in America. This happened about two hundred years ago and the system worked quite successfully because of their small population and the presence of large resources like oil. When President Roosevelt was elected, he brought about many reforms to break the monopoly system. He introduced a law which struck at the roots of the monopolies of a few families. This was called the New Deal. So, even in a country like America, which had immense resources as against a small population, many changes had to be brought about.

American policies, cannot, however, succeed in other countries. Pakistan has very limited resources and a large population. The policy of free enterprise can never be successful in Pakistan. It will only lead to an increase in poverty. These few families can never be patriots. Why? Because they know that this system is unnatural and the money they make, they take it out of the country and deposit it in the banks of Switzerland. They know that the day is coming when people will not tolerate this state of affairs. They will then be turned out of the country. They are preparing to meet the challenge. They know that they will be the first victims, if the people wake up and struggle for a change. They know that they have suppressed the people too long and sucked their blood.

The present Government is favouring the 22 families and knows that its end is near. They have got to go because they have based their policy on wrong principles. You can say that some workers are with them. I say that the poor cannot side with them, because they are their enemies. Some students, some labourers, some peasants and some intellectuals are with them. Those who are with them are the enemies of the people. There are many people like that in this world. The Government buys such people. It gives them some office or other temporary benefits. This is how this Government is working. If they find a worker

who is important, they give him a petrol pump or they issue him a bus permit. They try to win him over by offering him a job.

In spite of this the majority of workers is not with them. The majority of peasants and students is certainly not with them. As I said yesterday, we may tolerate the injustice done to us, but how can we tolerate the injustice done to our future? The enforcement of the University Ordinance in every university is cruel. Even a tyrant like Hitler did not do a thing like this. How can the majority be with an oppressive Government? This is an anti-people regime. They hate the people. They have no faith in the common man. They don't depend on the people, they depend on their 22 families, on their wealth, on their police. You have seen the C.I.D, at work. Even our private life is not left alone. The C.I.D, tries to bug our homes. It taps our telephones. If the regime had any faith in the common man, so much secret police would not be needed. We are being followed by the C.I.D, every time we go out even if we go to a private party; they do not bother to take any cover. What does this mean? This only means that their masters have no faith in themselves. They want to rule by force and by suppression of the common man. History tells us that Governments based on force and tyranny never survive. If there is dictatorship in this country, you need not worry Dictatorships have not survived anywhere in the world. This one has to go soon.

Dictatorship may work in other countries for some time, but never in this country because this country is divided into two parts and the two parts are separated by 1,000 miles of hostile territory. If there is some trouble in one part, the armies cannot be brought in from the other part. In Germany and in France the army and the public can easily be moved from one part to the other part. Even in the U.S., which is a very big country, this can be done because there is no enemy territory in between. They have a strong and effective machinery of law and order and the police can be moved in the country very easily. This cannot happen in this country. This country can only progress through political democracy. Do you know what is happening in East Pakistan? We don't know

anything because our press does not give us any news of that side. Similarly, they don't learn anything of what is happening here. It is an irony that we learn about happenings in East Pakistan through the foreign press and radio. The same is the case in the East. They also come to know about us through the foreign press and radio. A day will come when we will know nothing of what is happening there and they will be quite ignorant of what we are doing in this wing. They have put a curtain between us and then they tell us that they believe in unity. How can the two wings be integrated if they don't allow us to know anything about each other?

You have disallowed political activity. If Governor Musa can come here and address a public meeting, why can't we do the same? What is the difference? Will a revolution take place? No, we are not allowed to speak to the people but they are allowed to do "so. Now Ayub Khan is coming here, but they are not only going to make arrangements for his speech but will also cart thousands in buses to attend his meeting.

We know that there will be hurdles in our way. These hurdles will increase instead of decreasing. Unless we face these trials, unless we sacrifice a little, we are not going to win. Our triumph will be based on sacrifices. Our rulers are as unaware of sacrifices as they are of miser) and pain. They have come into the Government through the backdoor. They don't know what the conditions in the country are. What are the troubles the common man is suffering? Only those who themselves have suffered know the hardships of the common man. We know them because we are passing through the process. We know what the general condition of the country is. We go to different areas of the country, to Bengal, to Sind, to Baluchistan and to the Punjab. We come here and we also tour Karachi. We are workers. We tour every part of the land. We see things as they are, with our own eyes. They are sitting in their offices, receiving reports from their officers. The officers will always give an okay report. The officers will always say that the system is working perfectly well and that the country is progressing. That

is why the present rulers do not know what is happening in the country. Bribery is on the increase and it will go on increasing. They say they cannot stamp out bribery. They say that bribery prevails in every country. My dear brothers, why can't bribery be curbed? If it can be rooted out in other countries, why can't it be done here? There are ways of doing it. But how can they do it when their own hands are not clean? Our party will take special care of it when it comes to power.

When I first announced the formation of a party, we did not have a press to give wide publicity to our views. It was said, "What is the need of a new party? We already have so many parties. These parties should unite. A new party is not required. It is riot easy to form a party." Of course, it is not easy to form a party where there is dictatorship. It is an uphill task. The very fact that there is a distance of one thousand miles between the two wings of the country is a big hurdle. In spite of this I thought that the only proper course was to form a party. That is the only way to serve the people.

I do not want to comment on the position of other parties. We have said already that we want to cooperate with the opposition parties. You might have noticed that other parties have sometimes criticised the People's Party. But we have not said anything in reply. We have never criticised any party. We all belong to the opposition and any strife amongst us will only benefit the government. We have to struggle against this dictatorship and this anti-people system. If we fight with each other and weaken each other, we shall not be able to face this dictatorship. We are quiet and shall keep quiet. In a democracy parties should be allowed to present their programmes to the people and if the people accept the programme of a party, that party has a right to come to power. One who wants democracy cannot be against other parties.

I, therefore, do not mean to criticise any party, but if you assess their programme, you will not find anything revolutionary in it to solve the problems of

the country. A new party with a new programme and a new zeal is required. It should start a struggle in the country and serve the people. There is internal dissension in other political parties. Rival factions do not tolerate each other. Their feuds are old, 20 to 30 years old. If we had joined them, we would have got involved. We might not have been able to provide a lead to them as we have done now. We shall work with them and cooperate with them but we cannot join them. They have been there for 10 years, even 20 years. There have been so many problems in the country but you know the progress made by these parties. I won't say that their methods are wrong but they are certainly out of date. A lot of water has flowed under the bridge. This is not 1930, or 1940, not even 1950. This is 1968.

Times have changed. A new outlook and new methods are required. If we go by old standards, we shall have to confine ourselves to the appreciation of speeches in Assemblies or counting the audience in public meetings of different leaders. Those were comparatively easier days. Things would move at a slow pace. The British had given limited political liberty and the politicians had to work within those limits. They went to Assemblies for a few days. A speech was delivered at a public meeting and government changed. One Ministry was replaced by the other. Those were easier days for political work.

This is a dictatorship. The methods which worked previously will fail now. One has to undertake many risks and face many dangers. The method of first asking the students to go as a vanguard and then following them claiming all the credit if they succeed, will not work now. Now the leaders will have to come into the field first. That is why a new party is needed. If that need was not there, I would not have announced the formation of a new party. I am not criticizing anyone. This is a private meeting. I am only trying to explain why we formed a new party. I am invariably asked this question and I have to explain.

Friends! You can very well see the progress made by this party. It is quite evident. As to the difficulties we are facing, the foremost is the propaganda launched against us in the press by the Government. They are issuing all types of false statements while we are not allowed to say anything in reply. I had issued a statement in reply to the nonsense talked by Governor Musa in Hyderabad. *The Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi printed a major part of my statement but omitted some very important parts which were unpalatable to the Government. They claimed that they had printed the full text but in fact they had left out the important sentences. That is the treatment we are suffering. If an officer happens to meet us, he is transferred. We are proud of the hurdles being put in our way. Why are they afraid of us? It is because they know that the people are with us. If our programme were wrong, the people would not have supported us. They would have supported others. If the present Government had served the people, if they had established a system based on justice and equality, the people would have supported them. Popularity is not like sugar cane which you may purchase from the market against payment. The faith of the people is won through hard work, constant struggle, service and sacrifice. We shall *Insha Allah* achieve our objectives.

When the history of this Government is written, it will be described as a government of liars. The President delivered a speech yesterday about the *Decade of Revolution*. And in the end, departing from the norm he said. *Khuda Hafiz*. The Quaid-i-Azam used to end his speeches by saying, *Pakistan Zindabad* and said *Khuda Hafiz* only at farewells. I heard him speak at Simla—I was a student there and had gone to see him— after the Conference with the Viceroy and the Congress leaders, and I vividly remember his raising the slogan *Pakistan Zindabad* at the conclusion of his address. Liaquat Ali Khan used to do the same. Well, since Ayub Khan has said, *Khuda Hafiz*, we also say *Khuda Hafiz* to him.

Revolution Brewing
Speech at Ismailia,
Peshawar, October 28, 1968

We are not allowed to use loud speakers at our meetings. In spite of this we try to come to you and present our views. It appears that the Government is afraid of our views. If this was not the case then they should not have put so many hurdles in our way. When they hold their meetings hundreds of buses are brought out from Mardan to Peshawar and large-scale arrangements are made and all sorts of facilities are offered. No doubt they hold big meetings but there is no satisfaction or pleasure in their huge meetings, because they don't say anything new about the common man. They don't look towards the poor. They are jealous of us because we ask them to turn their attention away from the capitalists and look at the poor. We say that poverty should end in this country and it can end as has been done in other countries. We know how to do it. The rulers are unaware of the methods to end poverty and can't bring prosperity to the nation. They can't serve the labourers. They can't serve the peasants. They can't serve the students. They can't serve low-paid Government servants. They can only serve the capitalists because they themselves are capitalists.

They cannot serve the workers, but they will serve the mill-owners because they are also mill-owners. They will not serve the peasants because they are themselves landlords and don't cultivate the land. They will not serve low-paid Government servants but they will serve the big officers whose wives are building huge bungalows in Islamabad.

The days of this anti-people Government are numbered. I call upon them to quit immediately because they cannot serve the cause of the country. They are tired now. Let them allow the youth to serve the country. We have principles and we know how to implement them. Our foremost principle is democracy because a dictator is no substitute for the people's rule. People cannot be

suppressed any more by force. The people's rule can only be restored through democracy. That is why we are struggling for the sake of democracy. Secondly, we want that the country should have the system of Islamic Socialism because only then will there be equality and justice. We have joined the struggle and we know that the people are with us.

This Government says that they will establish a welfare state. What is this welfare state? In the old days those who played hide and seek with the people used to talk about a welfare state. A welfare state cannot be established in this age. There can be only two systems, either the capitalist system or the socialist system. We want Islamic Socialism. When I talk of Tashkent they start shivering and say that I am divulging Government secrets. What is secret about it? The whole world knows what happened at Tashkent. If I speak against the oppression of the bureaucracy I am accused of speaking against government servants. They defend the bureaucracy because without their support they will not be able to win the elections. The Basic Democracies system is an undemocratic system. They have usurped the rights of the people through this system. This system is the basis of dictatorship. Unless this basis is destroyed the dictator cannot be turned out. So far as the question of contesting the elections is concerned, victory or defeat does not matter to us. Participation in elections is a part of the people's struggle and is the correct path which we must follow.

There are many good points in the Basic Democracies system. Basic Democracies can be useful for some purposes, but their interference in the elections is wrong. It is through these Basic Democrats that the dictator is strengthened. Now the rulers are preparing for elections and the big capitalists are summoned and told that their salvation lies in the present system. If this system is destroyed the capitalists will lose their hold. So they are asking them to support the present system.

As you are aware a huge meeting is being held at Peshawar on the 10th of this month. People will be brought from Mardan in buses, even by force. I saw a bus driver who told me that the Deputy Commissioner had ordered them to take the people to the meeting because the President. Field Marshal Ayub Khan, is going to address the meeting. They have been threatened that if they do not comply with these orders, their route permits will be withdrawn. Ayub Khan will be presented with a million rupees at this meeting and this money will be used in the elections. Meetings can be held for the President and the people can be taken there by force to hear him talk about their problems. He will advise the ignorant, the sick, the tongawallas and rickshawallas. He will give his diagnosis and say that the whole nation is sick; that we are all patients and that he is our doctor; that he will cure us gradually because previously we had 80,000 Basic Democrats and now we are going to have 1,20,000 of them; because our fever is now a little less, because now we are a little more awake. So they are placing a little more responsibility on our shoulders. We thank them from the bottom of our hearts. We are grateful to them because they have increased the number of Basic Democrats. Ten or twenty years hence they will increase their "number a little more.

In this meeting you will be told that the country has progressed a lot. That they have got a certificate from Mr. McNamara. What can Mr. McNamara know of the progress in this country, sitting there in his own country? When he came here he came out in a car with the Finance Minister. How can he know about the plight of our workers and our peasants? The rulers are playing a big fraud on the country. They say that the country has progressed. Where is that progress? Establishing two or three mills and constructing two or three roads is not progress. Progress means improving the condition of the poor people. You know how the poor people are making both ends meet. You know the price of cloth is up. The common man is denied the necessities of life. Wherever we go in the country, even in Karachi, sugar is not available and sometimes even water is not available and they want us to believe that the country has made progress. They

cannot end poverty in the country. They cannot end bribery in the country and the bureaucracy is becoming more powerful daily. The Government is controlled by a few Basic Democrats, a few capitalists and a few senior officers.

I want to warn these officers that they are not Ayub's personal servants. They are servants of the State. Why do they interfere in politics? If they are so fond of politics, they should not do so under the cover of civil service. They should come into the political arena. Let them contest the elections. Why don't they contest for the Basic Democracies themselves? On the one hand, they call themselves Government servants and want to enjoy the privileges of permanent servants and, on the other, they are interfering in politics. In fact they are interfering in everything. I want to warn them that the present Government which has been there for ten years, against all natural principles, will not last long. All things are mortal. The days of this Government are numbered, and with the help and support of the people, *Insha Allah*, it will end very soon.

We are told that nobody can fight this Government. It has the machinery of state at its back. If these things could sustain an unjust rule, then the British would have been ruling this subcontinent even today. They had power and wealth. But when the people joined hands against them, when the people rose against them, when the people resolved that they will not tolerate British slavery, the British were turned out in a very short period of time. If they want to make a show of force, why don't they do so with India? To India they say they are ready for talks; that they want peace; that they do not want to fight; that they can talk about Kashmir. The speech delivered by our Foreign Minister in the United Nations recently carries an appeal to India for holding talks on disputes between India and Pakistan. It has been offered that Indo-Pakistan disputes can be discussed separately or collectively, according to the wishes of the Indian Government. Now, our rulers are prepared to talk to our enemies. But they don't allow us to say anything on these issues. If we demand democracy we are dubbed as traitors.

If you go to East Pakistan you will be pained to see the conditions there. If you go to Baluchistan you will find hatred against this Government. If you go to Sind you will find the people restive against this Government. When I came here I saw the same conditions in this area. Wherever you go there is tyranny, repression, unrest and frustration. If you ask the students whether they are happy, they will certainly reply in the negative. The labourers are not happy, and the poor are not happy. Only Ayub Khan is happy. If this is the state of affairs, how can the Government run?

The rulers are not interested in the poor. They are ignorant of the condition of the labourers and of the peasants. They are equally ignorant of the plight of the poor Government servants. To Government servants I say that they should sympathise with the poor people. They should be with the people. We have to struggle against this Government together, because this country is going to the dogs. We don't know where we will end up. We have to end this dictatorship and bring in democracy. We have to forge a united front through which we have to bring an end to this Government. Only then can we succeed.

I appeal to all of you to join the struggle against this Government. Time is slipping by. The opposition must form a united front now. This Government charges us with lust for power. I swear that this is not so. If it were true we would have been in the Government today. It is the present rulers who are addicted to power. They are occupying the chairs of office for the last ten years and now the people hate them. They know that the people want democracy but still they are not prepared to quit. They call us the enemies of the country. Is it because we want democracy? Is it because we want justice? Is it because we want to end bribery? Is it because we want equality? Are they the well-wishers of the country because they have signed the Tashkent Declaration, because they have signed the Indus Basin Treaty, because they have still not recovered Berubari from India, because they want peace with India?

The rulers have concentrated all the wealth and power in their hands. They control the radio, the press and the television. Why are our meetings not shown on television? They did not allow us to hold a meeting in Mardan, so we have to hold the meeting here in Ismailia. They have also not allowed us to hold a public meeting in Peshawar. They don't like us to talk about 22 families who are looting and misguiding the people. The people can no longer be misled.

The people understand everything. They always understood everything. They are much more conscious than this Government. Don't regard the people as ignorant. The people are not ignorant because times have changed. The Government is putting hurdles in our way and denying us the right to hold meetings. But as I have announced we will hold a meeting in Peshawar on November 5 whether they enforce Section 144 or not. We must hold this meeting. This night again we will hold a meeting, and I will talk on different subjects. I had made a speech in Hyderabad in last September and the Government became nervous. Governor Musa himself went to Hyderabad and made a speech and levelled false charges against me. That speech was widely publicised in the press, but my reply was not allowed to be published. Only one or two papers published it in a mutilated form. Governor Musa accused me of divulging official secrets.

My dear brothers! I am not so irresponsible. I will not speak on any secret against national interests. If I had intended to create trouble I would have revealed these secrets at the Lahore Railway Station when the people were seething with discontent on the Tashkent issue. I did not utter a single word at that time because I considered it against the interest of the country. They say why did I not say these things at that time? I have given my answer. The forces of the enemy were poised against us on the frontiers. When they were withdrawn, when the times had changed, when three years had elapsed, only then I divulged the secret. And the secret was that when I returned from China,

Ayub Khan embraced me and said, "This nation will be ever grateful to you." This is the only secret which I have divulged and what is so secret about it? Everybody knows why I had been to China. I never disclosed the mode of my travel. I did not disclose the time and date of my travel to China or the object of my visit. So how can I be accused of divulging official secrets? I only wanted to point out that there was a time when Ayub Khan got up from his chair and told me that the nation would be ever grateful to me. It is they who are guilty of divulging official secrets. His own son while speaking in Karachi told the people that Air Marshal Nur Khan accompanied me in the plane. Now this is an official secret which should not have been disclosed. I have done nothing against my oath of secrecy. Ayub Khan worked against his oath of allegiance when he imposed Martial Law. Let them not frighten us with their police. I am only unmasking the rulers and not disclosing official secrets. They are trying to betray the country and when I warn them that we will not allow this and we shall let the people know the atrocities they are committing, they accuse me of disclosing secrets.

Dictatorship is Crumbling
Speech at Public Meeting.
Abbottabad, October 29. 1968

They accuse me of lust for power and say that is why I am opposing this Government. I am not interested in power. If I had any desire to hold on to power, I would have been with this Government, not out of it. It is this Government which is drunk with power. It is holding on to power desperately for the last ten years and is not prepared to give it up under any circumstance. This Government knows it very well that the people are against them. They have seen that the people are opposed to them.

Their economic policies are a complete failure. This Government is aware of the fact that the people are becoming poorer every day. These rulers know that frustration and injustice is increasing every day. The poor people are protesting against it. They are being suppressed and their troubles are increasing, but they are being dubbed as disruptionists. The rulers tell us that the people who are protesting against the policies of the Government are disruptionists, otherwise there is stability in the country and the country has progressed a lot. I want to ask this Government as to what type of stability is this? If they mean the stability of the graveyard, then certainly this country is stabilised. From Khyber to Karachi and from Karachi to Chittagong, wherever you go, hatred against this Government is on the increase. I have toured this area. I wanted to go to Peshawar and hold a public meeting there but I was not allowed to do so. Section 144 has been imposed. In fact, section 144 has become the constitution of this Government.

We do not bother about their wealth or about their power or about their police. We know that the people of Pakistan are with us. The people of Pakistan will follow the right path and we will struggle for them come what may. We are not going to retrace our steps, even if we have to pay for this defiance with our

lives. Brothers! I have committed mistakes, in my life. I am a human being and to err is human. I don't say that I have never committed any mistake or blunders but for my sins and blunders I shall repent before my Creator and beg forgiveness. I shall not go to the President. I know that I have made mistakes but my greatest mistake has been that I was associated with this Government. I admit that we are sinful but the people in this Government are not angels. They have sucked the blood of the entire country. They have usurped the wealth of the whole nation. It does not lie in their mouth to accuse us. We know our weaknesses but they should try to assess their own misdeeds.

What are they doing to this country? How are they running this Government? What service are they rendering to the people? You have to look at the worker, at the peasant and at the student to find out the achievements of this Government. The children of the people are deprived of education. They don't get proper clothing. There are many people who go without food. In spite of this we are told that they have served this country and the country has made progress. Where is this progress? The people come from abroad and tour the country alongwith the Ministers and later we are told that Mr. McNamara has appreciated the progress made by Pakistan. I call upon Mr. McNamara to come and have a look at our villages and look at the sad plight of the poor. He will find that poverty is increasing every day.

Wherever you go there is hatred for this Government. It exists in the Punjab. Bengal is fed up with this Government. The people in this area are also not happy with this Government. In spite of this the rulers are not prepared to quit the Government. So bad is the plight of the country that there is neither peace nor economic progress. The rulers who are forcibly occupying their chairs for the last ten years accuse others of lust for power. Perhaps they do not know that respect is not gained through power. Quaid-i-Azam whose political life covered a period of almost half a century was in the opposition all his life. He held power for less than two years. But he was our Quaid-i-Azam. The Congress had offered

him the top position in the subcontinent but he turned down the offer and said that he would adhere to his principles. He refused to bargain on the question of partition of India. It should be clear that the prestige of a leader is not attained by his remaining in power. That is why hatred against the present rulers is increasing in spite of their being in power.

They admit that they cannot check bribery in the country. They say it is a very difficult problem and it is very difficult to root it out. This Government cannot end poverty. It cannot bring prosperity. It cannot solve the Kashmir problem. What else can it do then? If they have grown tired or if they are sick, I call upon them to vacate their chairs. We will then show to them how to end bribery and how to solve the Kashmir problem. Why are they frightening this brave army? They keep on telling us that India is a big country. Its size is five times that of Pakistan. It has tremendous power and we cannot face her. Don't show us the map of India. We are well acquainted with it. We know India thoroughly well. On the one hand, they talk proudly of the war fought against India and, on the other, they express regrets about it.

If we try to discuss these things they accuse us of disclosing official secrets. I know what they mean by this. If I was that irresponsible I would have disclosed these secrets at the time of my quitting this Government. I did not say a word about this at the time. If I had been so irresponsible I would have done something immediately after Tashkent. I have not disclosed any secrets so far. If they are levelling this charge to prevent us from exposing their misdeeds I want to warn them that we are determined to expose them. It is our duty to go to the people and to apprise them of the truth. We are only performing our duty and not disclosing any secrets. They try to frighten us. We are not going to be frightened by these threats. If we are guilty of something against law, there are courts in the country. You can try us in those courts.

There is another charge against me that I mislead the students. How can I mislead the students? You have the press with you and you have the television in your control. I cannot go to the universities. I cannot make speeches there. Then how can I mislead them? If the Government wants to be popular among them, it should serve them and withdraw the University Ordinance. Only then can it secure their support. The Government is against the students. It is against the labourers. The wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of 22 families and political power is entirely in the hands of one family.

My dear friends! I am not of the type who changes with the times. I shall always adhere to my principles which I believe are for the welfare of the common man. I am struggling for the well-being of the common man. I cannot give you details of the excesses the rulers are perpetrating on me. They are giving me the maximum trouble, but I have told them that I am not going to be cowed down. I have told them that I have burnt my boats and I cannot be frightened by them. We are fighting for a right and just cause and we shall emerge triumphant.

I am asked to throw light on many issues. The choice of subjects is difficult for me. They have plunged the entire country into darkness. You might have heard that I intend to speak on Tashkent. I say 'heard' because they don't allow my speeches to be published in the press. I believe that Lahore has the foremost right because Lahore was our first defence-line and it was in Lahore that many students lost their lives in demonstrations against Tashkent. I will certainly speak on Tashkent in Lahore when the time comes. Later, I shall come here and speak on the same subject.

Another charge against me is that I challenged Sheikh Mujib for a debate on Six Points when I was a Minister and now I am trying to bring Sheikh Mujib's Awami League into the fold of the proposed United Front against the Government. When I challenged Sheikh Mujib on the question of Six Points I believed that two or three of these points were so weak that the people would

never accept them. I believed that we must take this issue to the people and try to explain the truth about these points and I am sure we could convince the people. That is why I asked for a public debate. I wanted to meet the challenge on the political platform, by discussing the Six Points in an open debate. Our Government does not believe in political solution. They put Sheikh Mujib in jail. Did it solve the problem? The problem is still there and it is there because people were not allowed to thrash it out and find out for themselves its pros and cons. I am sure the Six Points would have been rejected by the people if discussed openly.

The tactics of this Government are anti-people. That is why this Government is becoming weaker every day. They are ignorant of the real feelings of the masses. This Government is hollow and is bound to fall. We must struggle for democracy because a people's government cannot come into existence without that. We don't want the rule of a President. We want a people's rule which is in everybody's interest.

We call for democracy and they give us Basic Democracy. This Basic Democracies system is absolutely undemocratic. Under this system the rulers think they are gradually bringing political awareness to the ignorant people. We are thankful to them for raising the number of Basic Democrats from 80 thousand to 120 thousand. But we are not ignorant. I am not criticising the Basic Democrats. When we come to power we shall make provisions for them. But we cannot give them the right to elect the National Assembly. This Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult franchise. This is the right of every citizen. The Basic Democrats have been wrongly given this power. We want to withdraw this power but this does not mean that we want to abolish the Basic Democracies system. We don't want to abolish this system. I am not saying this because we want their votes, but if they cast their votes for money, we shall take them to task.

I want to tell you that the forthcoming elections are more important than the previous elections. You have a chance to take this Government to task. Now is the time to ask this Government as to how long it is going to rule over us? How long is it going to use force? How long is it going to suppress us? Its time is over! The wheel has come full circle.

The whole world knows that I was the Foreign Minister of this country and I could establish mills like others. I am not blowing my own trumpet but I am just stating a fact that when I quit this Government, I was offered anything I wanted, a licence for a mill or a high post. I told them that I was not interested in any such thing. I chose not to sell my conscience.

My dear brothers! When I left the Government I thought I would go and teach in a university; but when I looked at the sad plight of the poor people of my country I decided to take up their cause and to serve them. I made up my mind that I would make a sacrifice and set an example. I made it clear in East Pakistan also. I am grateful to you for having encouraged me. You should strengthen our hands. The Pakistan People's Party is your own party. It is a revolutionary party with a revolutionary programme.

An Explosive Situation
Speech at Public Meeting,
Mansehra, October 30, 1968

The Government have leveled 21 charges against me. Their accusations are childish. They are so absurd that they appear to be an insult to the people and their common sense. I need hardly contradict any of the charges because they are so apparently baseless that no sensible person can believe them. If I was so bad as they want to paint me, they would never have spared me. My hands are clean and I have served this country honestly and diligently. I have not taken any undue advantage of my position in the Government. I challenge this Government to declare the assets held by its members prior to their coming into power and also the assets held by them now. I am also prepared to do the same. Let the people draw their own conclusions.

I am prepared to divulge everything to the people, because I am fighting for the cause of the common man. I am struggling for democracy and justice. It does not behove the rulers to level false charges against me when they are living in a glass house. So far as I am concerned, they are at liberty to carry out their false propaganda. They may print anything in their occupied press. Their Ministers are at liberty to issue any statements against me. They will never be able to fool the people and truth will dawn ultimately. We are going to acquaint the people with the truth.

What are the achievements of this Government? What services have they rendered to the people? When I declared that the nation will fight for one thousand years they said how can we fight for one thousand years? The conflict between Hindus and Muslims dates back one thousand years into history. Why can't it be carried into the future? Any student of history will confirm that. If the nation can fight for one thousand years for its survival, it can do so in the future as well. They are trying to frighten the nation.

They want to give up the historical struggle. All the time they are repeating that we cannot fight with India because it is a very big country and is five times our size. They also tell us that India has a very large army and innumerable war factories, which are manufacturing aeroplanes and tanks. This is not the right way of leading a nation. They are trying to demoralise the nation. We believe that truth and justice will ultimately emerge victorious. If that was not the case how could the valiant people of Vietnam have fought against a power like America? How could a country like Cuba face the might of America? Victory does not depend on the number of tanks possessed by a nation, otherwise there would have been no Struggle in the world. Nations would have presented lists of the number of tanks possessed by them and accepted defeat and conceded victory accordingly.

We do not expect this Government to launch a struggle for the sake of the nation. This Government cannot make any sacrifices. It cannot bear any difficulties because this is government by personal rule. The sole purpose of this Government is to please one man. That is exactly what happens in a dictatorship. Wherever there is a one-man rule, all efforts are directed towards pleasing that one man, and the national interest is ignored. There is never any need to serve the poor people. That is why poverty is increasing in our country and the lot of the labourers is deteriorating. The peasants are on the verge of starvation. In spite of this the Government wants us to believe that there has been progress in the country. Of course, there has been progress but it has been that of one man and that of the 22 families. This is not national progress, but who bothers about the nation? If it had been a democratic system, then we could say that progress depends upon the improvement of the lot of the common man.

Dictatorships do not aim at that. The only aim in a dictatorship is the pleasure of one man and a few of his friends. Nobody is allowed to object to this state of affairs. One man and his friends and his sycophants are very happy because they are minting money. They have established mills and amassed a lot

of wealth. They have deposited valuable foreign exchange in foreign countries. The Government is being run by them and for them. The people are only expected to give their blood and the greater the flow of this blood the greater the prosperity of the rulers.

Gentlemen! I have admitted that progress has been made but I insist that this is the progress of a few families and of a dictator. We have to struggle for national progress. The rulers are not going to concede our rights of their own accord. The Government which aims at the exploitation of the people can never grant them any rights. There has to be a struggle to achieve our rights and it is our duty to carry on the struggle. I am accused of spreading disruption in the country. It is said that I am inviting bloodshed and revolution. Why are they afraid of the word revolution? This Government claims to be a revolutionary government. Why do they object then to the use of the word revolution by others? Do they mean that revolution for their sake is good while for the sake of the people it is not good? If the revolution is in your personal interest you appreciate it but if it is in the interest of the people you abhor it. We do not want any bloodshed in this country. We have to live here and our children have to be brought up here. We want this country to progress and whatever struggle we launch will be on democratic lines. If the rulers think that they can frighten the people by telling them that we are revolutionaries and they want to put us in jails on this pretext, let them do so. We are not afraid of their jails.

The struggle against the present Government can take two or three forms. It can be a political contest. We are ready for that and we are not afraid. We are prepared to fight on the basis of principles. We believe that we should go to the people and present our programme to them. The rulers say that we have no programme to offer. This is their wishful thinking. We have a programme which is a revolutionary programme in the interests of the people. We will go to the people with great pleasure. The rulers, however, are not allowing us to do so. They do not allow us to present our programme to the people. Section 144 has become

the constitution of the country. It has been adopted by the rulers as their religion. On the one hand, they prevent us from meeting the people and, on the other, they have taken all the newspapers under their control. They have all the facilities and powers of the Government at their disposal while we are deprived of them. In spite of this, we are prepared to meet them in the political field. We challenge the rulers to bring their programme to the people and to inform the people of their achievement. We shall also present our programme and plans to the nation. We will be happy to meet them in the field on a political plane.

They are instituting false cases against us. We are prepared to face that too, and tell them: you can institute as many false cases as you want but you shall not succeed. When the time comes we will expose you thoroughly. The choice lies with you. If you want to go to court, we are prepared for that. If we cannot go to court today, a time will come when we will be able to. You should never have the misconception that you will be able to run away from the country. We will not allow the 22 families to go out of the country. You have suppressed the people for ten years, used your big stick. You have bombed the people in Baluchistan and hanged them in other places. You have filled your jails. You have levelled many false charges against the innocent and perpetrated atrocities. Do you think you are going to rule forever? Even the empires of Alexander and the Pharaohs perished. Your rule is also going to be over very soon.

Why is the Government so afraid of Tashkent? When I mention the word Tashkent they start shivering and charge me with divulging official secrets. And what is this talk about a welfare state? Is this a welfare state? No welfare state exists here. The very term is a big joke. It is only a disguise for the capitalist system, which aims at the welfare of a few families. To dupe the people they just change the name of their system. It is, therefore, absurd to talk about a welfare state.

Of course, they talk about an Islamic State. We shall welcome it. The majority in this country will welcome it. But the Government cannot claim that this is an Islamic State. You may bring in Islamic Socialism. The poor people will accept it because the majority of them believe in Islamic Socialism. But how can you establish that system in which lies your end and destruction? You will have to part with your mills, your wealth and other assets. Hence there is no question of your establishing socialism in the country.

The only other system left is the capitalist system, but you are afraid of using this term. If this is a capitalist state why don't you call it a capitalist state? The truth is that this Government is being run by the capitalists. They should not be afraid of calling it the Government of the capitalists. They are constantly serving the capitalists and have done them many favours. The capitalists are the main support of this Government and without them it simply cannot run. This Government depends on the capitalists, on the 22 families, on Government officers and on Basic Democrats. It does not depend on the people. All these classes have nothing to do with the masses. The capitalists are the enemies of the people. They can never be friends of the common man. So far as officers are concerned—I don't want to criticise them but the fact remains that they are arrogant and haughty. They regard themselves the masters of the country. When the poor people go to them with their problems they are even refused a meeting. If a meeting is granted the decision of the case depends on the mood of the Sahib.' The bureaucrats are behaving like that because the Government depends upon them. The majority of the people is being suppressed; but this unnatural system cannot last forever.

Everyone can see the plight of the country which is the result of ten years of this despotic rule. They call it stability, but this is no stability. Stability comes with the consent of the people when the poor have enough to eat, clothes to wear and jobs to earn their living. When their children can go to schools. When they can get admission to hospitals if they fall sick. That is real stability and real

progress. This stability brought about by the present Government is the stability of the cemetery.

The situation in the country is very explosive, more so in East Pakistan. Law and order in that wing is deteriorating everyday. Hatred for West Pakistan is growing. I have met several East Pakistani politicians, students and people from other walks of life who have told me that they are fed up with West Pakistan. I have tried to explain to them that the people in both wings are equally suppressed. If Islamabad is located in West Pakistan it does not mean that West Pakistan is free from dictatorship. In fact, the hold of the dictator is stronger in West Pakistan. He is ruling through Governor Monem Khan in East Pakistan, but directly controls the people in West Pakistan.

People in East Pakistan want to achieve their rights. They have waited very long. They are restive now and do not want to continue in the present state of affairs. As patriots we have made every effort to save the situation. We want that there should be some sort of compromise. It is said that I once challenged Mujib to a debate on Six Points. Why? Because I never accepted Six Points. Even in my speeches in East Pakistan, I declared that Six Points were against the national interest. I have pointed out that two of these points can never be accepted by us because they are bound to bring about the destruction of the country. What I had said was that the problem could not be solved by putting leaders in jail. It could be solved by a public debate. We should go to the people and explain to them the weaknesses of the Six Points. That is the only way to counter the programme convincingly. It was with this in view that I had challenged Sheikh Mujib to a debate. Mujib-ur-Rahman did not accept this challenge because he knew that if a debate was held in East Pakistan, the people would learn that at least two of these points were very dangerous and would refuse to accept them. On the other hand, the Government has different views. They believe that they have the power of the state and the secret police. They think that they can solve every problem by sending the maximum number

of people to jail. Well, political issues cannot be decided like that. In politics what you need is patience, justice and equality. The Government lacks all these qualities. They don't understand these methods and cannot run the country with common sense.

Let us consider West Pakistan now. Just look at Baluchistan. Its people are being crushed. I find it difficult to tell you the whole story. They are citizens of the country. They have struggled for Pakistan. They certainly deserve better treatment. So far as the situation in this area is concerned, you are better acquainted with it. I have learned that sugar is not available here. I am afraid that if the present situation continues not only sugar will disappear but people will be deprived of the shirts. Such are the conditions!

Gentlemen! Please mark my words: I am telling you that the days of this Government are numbered. They have lost their balance because their rule is coming to an end. There is no consistency in their statements. In a speech on 1st September the issue of the national language was reopened by the President. This was a settled issue. Urdu and Bengali have been accepted as our national languages. The situation in East Pakistan is very delicate. The rulers should not add fuel to the fire. Lust for power blinds a man. I pray to God that we should be saved from the vices that result from this hunger. The rulers should treat the nation as their children. They should have the same affection for them. They should treat the nation as their own family and plan for its overall progress.

In the end, I shall request you to please study the manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party. We have drafted this manifesto after a good deal of thought. It is the need of the hour that a revolutionary party comes into the field. Times have changed. The methods which were useful in 1940 and 1950 have lost their efficacy. A speech in the assembly or in the open was the total scope of politics. This is a very delicate and difficult period and a revolutionary party is needed to meet the challenge. The Government has tried to put many hurdles in

our way during the last ten or eleven months. The Government is afraid of this party and has given us the maximum trouble. Our party is determined to serve the cause of the people and our success lies in your cooperation. We have embarked on a long and arduous journey. But we are on the right path. We are confident that we will achieve our goal.

Bribes for Votes

Speech at Workers' Meeting, Campbellpur,

October 30, 1968

Gentlemen, whatever is in Pakistan belongs to the people. I also belong to you. I have promised that *Insha Allah* our time shall come soon. At the moment I am not going to say very much because when I utter something the Government starts shouting, "Official Secret, Official Secret."

It is said that the Basic Democrats are corrupt. I advise the Basic Democrats to accept bribes from the Government. If the Government tries to pay them some money, they should try to extract the maximum. If they are offered three thousand, they should demand five thousand. But I must warn each one of them to cast his vote according to the wishes of the people. If they cast their votes in favour of the Government, we shall call them to account, because their votes are a sacred trust of the people.

We are not afraid of this system. It is said that no one can change the Government under this system. I say whatever the system, if the people are against a Government, that Government is bound to go. Governor Musa has levelled 21 charges against me. I have answered these charges and an opposition newspaper has published my answers.

***Growth of People's Party
Address at its Frontier Convention,
Sherpao, November 3, 1968***

It is a great pleasure for me that the Frontier Province Convention of the Party has been successful from every point of view. Earlier, the Pakistan People's Party has had two conventions, one in Lahore for the Punjab and Baluchistan on 22 August, and the other in Hyderabad for Sind on 21 September. Both these conventions were successful. You have seen for yourself how successful this one has been.

Those who have been with me have been finding life very difficult. They have been working sincerely, tirelessly and facing heavy odds. The PPP was not set up in happy circumstances. It came into being in the face of an extremely difficult situation. I am grateful to all party workers and friends who have faced these great difficulties.

My dear friends, I have many weaknesses in me. I am a human being and can make mistakes. I am a Muslim and in this capacity confess my faults. But I do not have the weakness to exploit and betray my friends. Such weaknesses are inherent in dictators, but leaders of the masses cannot have them.

Despots exploit everything because they are usurpers. Their interests revolve around themselves. A despot exploits politics and all his financial powers to build up and protect his own person. In the process, even his closest friends leave him. They conspire and eventually rebel against him.

But since we believe in democracy, we value everybody's effort. How then, can we ignore your efforts and hard work? We will stand by all those who have been with us. They are our friends, the source of our strength. We will live and die together. We will share our joys and sorrows. You have, indeed, taken up

a great responsibility on your shoulders. It is a critical responsibility. You have done a great job. I have myself seen Party branches being set up in each and every district in ten days' time. We have devoted workers. They have worked well.

In less than a year, Pakistan People's Party branches have been expanded and strengthened throughout Pakistan. In Sindh, my colleagues and friends have done an extremely good job. Similarly, in the Punjab, my friends and comrades have worked very hard. In almost every district, branches of the Pakistan People's Party have been set up. Enrolment of members is on the increase.

In East Pakistan too, an office has been set up in Dacca. Necessary work is being done there. The People's Party branches are being set up and expanded in Karachi and Baluchistan. This could never have been achieved in eleven months if this party had no principles or ideas. The party has a manifesto; it has its own ideas and principles, hence its success.

When I announced the setting up of a party, the Government took it as a big joke. It thought a new party could not be formed. Even the opposition parties questioned the need for a new party. How could we have plunged into these difficulties had there been no need for a new political party? There was need for a new party to bring in a new system. A new atmosphere was needed. A new way of doing things was required. So we announced the setting up of the Pakistan People's Party.

In the Lahore Convention, on 30 November and 1 December, 1967, this party came into being. Soon after the formation of the party, the ruling junta said it would remain a student's party with its strength confined only to the Punjab; that it will have no influence at all in Sind, NWFP or East Pakistan. It will not be able to pull its weight in other areas of Pakistan. They were wrong.

A member of the ruling junta once told me that I would not be able to rule this country with the support of the students alone. He warned me I would not be able to face Ayub Khan's Government. I told him because I had the support of students, I would face anyone. I told him if the Government opposed the students, it would not be able to rule for very long.

In the beginning, it was said that the party would not last long because it had the support of the students and a following in the Punjab alone. It was contended that the people of Pakistan were sentimental; they still remembered the events of the war with India, but it was a transient period. They would forget everything in a few months' time. It was, therefore, concluded that the Government was in no danger whatsoever from me and my party. But you have seen that the party has become popular not only in the Punjab but also in the whole of Pakistan. We can genuinely claim that the success of the party in 11 months' time has no parallel in the history of the subcontinent.

The Quaid-i-Azam died a year after the creation of Pakistan. His Muslim League remained intact for a few years, but it was no more than a name. And political parties should be more than a name.

Political parties make their presence felt for their ideology and philosophy. If, for instance, you choose to give up your principles and ideas and name some other party as Pakistan Peoples Party, that party will never make any headway nor will it progress. That was why the Muslim League began to become weaker and weaker a few years after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam. And it finally disintegrated when a few branches joined together to make a Republican Party. On the other hand, the Congress party is still working in India and it is still very much alive. Nevertheless, had Mr. Nehru also died a year or two after Independence, the Congress too would have died out like the Muslim League.

If at all the Congress has managed to survive it is because Nehru was holding its leadership for fourteen years and he was also India's Prime Minister. Had God Almighty blessed our Quaid-i-Azam with as much life, the Muslim League would perhaps have been a strong and living party and there would have been no need for other parties. It is a pity we were not destined to see that day. The Quaid-i-Azam died and the Muslim League went to seed. It gradually gave up its principles. It split up into pieces. The Government pirated even its nomenclature and built its own mercenary edifice on it.

There are other analogies too. In India, there are parties like Rashtrya Sewak Sangh and Jan Sangh. Here, too, we have their counterparts. But the trouble is I have pledged not to criticise the opposition parties, nor will I name them. So while I am not supposed to say anything against these parties, because like them we too are in the opposition, I have noticed them severely criticising the People's Party in their speeches and newspapers.

On my part, however, I can claim that you will not have so far noted in my speeches any criticism of the opposition parties. Our party workers have got to explain their ideas and programme to the people. Naturally, they have to mention other parties and make political comments on their aims and objects. So, if on the one hand there is a need for restraint in criticism against the opposition parties, on the other, our party workers have to justify the need for setting up a new political party.

We do not wish to criticise the older opposition parties. I reaffirm that we will cooperate with them. We will have to show patience even if they issue statements against us or launch propaganda campaigns. We have to establish priorities. We have to see who are the most dangerous among our adversaries. The people's danger is dictatorship; we have to face and fight this first. The opposition must, therefore, unite on a common platform to fight against dictatorship. I would say nothing against them. But I do want to say this, in good

faith, that just as there are rightist militant parties like Rashtrya Sewak Sangh and Jan Sangh in India, we have here in Pakistan parties like the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Nizam-i-Islam Party. Then there is the Communist Party. This party has had its own traditions in India, because there was democracy and because of Nehru's attitude. He believed that in a democracy all parties were free to project their ideas before the masses. Therefore, the Communist Party was allowed to organise itself and function in India. It has become a strong political party. Here, in Pakistan the Communist Party does exist, but it is not strong.

So far as socialist parties are concerned, they have not been able to progress in India. It is said that Jaya Prakash Narain's party is a socialist party, but he has not been able to form a socialist party. Sometimes he says his party does not take part in politics. He is often heard saying his is a party that only conducts social and cultural activities. Sometimes we see him in Kashmir and at other times in Nagaland.

Why socialist parties have not succeeded in India is because Hinduism is against socialism, just as it is against Islam. Hinduism can never tolerate socialism, because the Hindu religion provides for various classes. While socialism has not made any headway in India, it can make tremendous progress in Pakistan because there is little difference between Islam and socialism.

I want to say this clearly that in the socioeconomic sector there is no difference between Islam and socialism. Had these two systems been in conflict with each other, I would have given up socialism. To say that Islam and socialism are antagonistic to each other is mere propaganda by those who want to exploit the people and suck their blood.

But I want to tell you, my brothers, it makes no difference. Our opponents may use their wealth they may use the capitalists or anyone they want to, but victory will be ours. The people will triumph soon. Socialism is bound to succeed,

even if my days are numbered or for some reason I am forced to give up politics. It is because systems do not owe their success to personalities. It depends on principles. Things would have been much easier had politics been personalised. Dictators would not then have had to worry at all. They would have always managed to shoot their way through. It is in a way possible. It has, in fact, happened. It has been happening in other countries. It has perhaps, happened here. Those who wield power can do anything, because the police, the military, the officials and even the goondas, are at their disposal. Those in authority can have anybody killed. Since personalities do not count in systems, no purpose would be served by killing anyone. If you remove one person from the scene, another will take his place. A system has to transcend personalities.

I say nothing new when I demand the rights of the workers and peasants, or call for the elimination of the capitalists who have grabbed the nation's wealth. On my part I will keep saying that. I will say it as long as I remain in politics. Even if I do not remain in politics, these ideas will remain.

The fundamental reason for our success is that there is no clash between our religion and the socialist economic system. Islam is our religion. Pakistan itself was created for the promotion of Islamic ideas and principles. And Islam alone can cope with the needs and aspirations of the people of this country. Our principles will serve the cause of Islam not only in Pakistan but elsewhere in the world. When the People's Party comes into power it would do things which the present rulers cannot even think of.

It hurts our feelings to hear Moshe Dayan say that Israel has succeeded. Had he faced Pakistan and the people of Pakistan, he would have been taught a befitting lesson. Although the Arabs could not stand against them, the Pakistanis would certainly have fought against them, provided there was a good government in Pakistan. Had there been a popular Government in Pakistan, the Arabs would not have met this defeat.

I still remember the agonising statement issued by the Pakistan Government at that time to say that "We should not be sentimental" or that "We will help to the extent we can," which in effect meant we cannot help. What was the need to say all that? Those who want to help do not say such things. If we meant giving only false hopes and did not intend to help at all, we should have said so openly. Actually, this was a mistake on our part. I have repeatedly told you that the People's Party will be in the forefront to offer sacrifices for the cause of Islam anywhere in the world. The People's Party has a manifesto, a programme revolving around the principles: "Islam is our religion," "Democracy is our policy" and "Socialism is our economy."

When I came back from my European tour, following my resignation from the Government, I was thinking how best I could serve my country and the poor people. I said the country and the people should be served in the best possible manner. I did not make political speeches for quite some time after that. However, I did express my views on the problem of Kashmir. I said I would like to say something on Kashmir and other problems, but I made no speeches. I remained quiet for some time, so much so that even some friends from among the opposition began to wonder why Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did not speak on Pakistan's internal problems while he made speeches on foreign policy and Vietnam.

Some people even complained that I abstained from making speeches on internal problems for fear of someone. As a matter of fact, we were in the process of setting up a new political party. This is no ordinary job. We had to think long and deep. There were heavy odds. So many people came forward and offered, in good faith, to help but then some of them had to yield under Government pressure and for various other compulsions. A few just ran away and were not seen again.

Pakistan is a big country, stretching from Karachi to Khyber and Chittagong. So are its problems, various kinds of problems. They differ from place to place, from area to area. Then you need money, for no party can be run without money. You have to move about, and that needs a lot of money.

I had been thinking how best the country and the people could be served. I decided not to launch a political movement until we could stand on our feet and until our ideas became clear and unambiguous. No struggle or movement can or should be launched without giving deep thought to all relevant aspects. But even during those days the Government did not spare me.

You will remember that Khwaja Shahabuddin made a speech in Dacca on the Tashkent Declaration. It was a pack of lies from beginning to end. My first reaction was how could an old man like Khwaja Shahabuddin tell a lie? Actually, these people wanted to create misunderstandings among the masses. They forced me to react. I had to answer their misrepresentations. I laid bare the facts and challenged them to hold a debate wherever they liked, Lahore, Karachi or Dacca—anywhere. They showed wisdom and suggested that the debate should be held in Larkana.

It was perhaps thought at that time that there was some big landlord there of whom I would feel frightened and would not be able to hold a debate in my own town.

I wasted no time and reached Larkana the next day. I made a speech there and told them to come to Larkana by all means. I told Khwaja Shahabuddin since he was an old man he should not come to Larkana only to participate in the debate; I told him he would be welcome as my guest at my house, but he avoided it all. In fact, he forgot everything about the debate. The propaganda not only continued, but was stepped up. When we held our first Convention in Lahore, a propaganda campaign was launched and all newspapers were full of

words against us. Challenges were issued and it was said that this party could not succeed.

However, the Government eventually realised it had been defeated. It was first defeated when I accepted its challenge. It suffered its second defeat when all efforts to sabotage the People's Party failed. It tried to kill the party before it could be formed. Huge amounts of money were spent. Government officers were used for this purpose. People were sent to us to dissuade us from forming a party, but I salute my friends because they frustrated all such tactics.

I had entrusted a friend from Peshawar with an important assignment. I had asked him to become Convener of the Lahore Convention. You know how much difficulty he had to face. We were unable even to find a suitable place for the Convention. Ultimately we had to hold it at Dr. Mubashir Hassan's residence. The Government sent its men there, C.I.D, men and others. My friends warned me to beware of such people. I knew them well. I knew why they had come to us and with what objectives. But a party based on principles and ideas has nothing to fear from such people. The coming in and going out of these people makes no difference at all.

After all, what do we want to hide? What plans or conspiracies did we make? What underground movement do we plan? We have placed before the nation our manifesto in printed form. Apart from having written it in black and white, we have been explaining our economic and political programme in our speeches and statements. We have been emphasizing the need for democracy because without democracy a popular government cannot be established. Economic progress of the people is impossible without socialism.

We have no secret that we want to hide. Our complaint is that the Government-controlled news media black us out; they treat our public statements as if they were stale secrets. They force us to go from door to door and explain

our ideas to the people. We want to reach every student, worker, peasant, every oppressed citizen and tell him our ideas. Our party has nothing to hide that it should feel frightened by the special police. We are in no danger from them. These people are welcome to sit with us and listen to our deliberations. We are not betraying the nation. Only traitors fear the police. It is the exploiters, the oppressors and those who work against national interest who are scared of plainclothesmen.

The Press is another problem. Propaganda and misrepresentation have been going on against us day and night. Take the Dera Ismail Khan incident. It is a pity that an incorrect report was filed by the APP. It was all wrong from beginning to end. It said we threw bricks. Why should we throw bricks and at whom? We had gone there on a mass contact movement, not to throw bricks. We will not throw bricks at the people. How can it be possible? How can we throw bricks at those who come to attend our meetings? They respected us and faced many difficulties for us. Only a fool would throw bricks at them.

It was also alleged that since we provoked the police, it was forced to use tear gas and fire on us. Why should we provoke the police? What reason was there to do that? Nowhere have we done that, so why in Dera Ismail Khan of all places?

In fact, there was no arrangement for loudspeakers. I was about to end my speech when teargassing and firing began, without any reason whatsoever. Later, I had to address a meeting of the students. We sat together and had tea. It was reported in the press that some awkward questions were asked at that meeting. One of these alleged questions was how I believed in socialism while being a landlord myself. I am doubtless a landlord, but a principled one. I have principles. But what can I do if my opponents have no principles? It does not make any difference whether you are a landlord or not.

Well, how many revolutions have you seen so far? You may like to know that no struggle for a revolution, any revolution, can be launched by a particular class, all by itself. You have the example of the French Revolution. Revolution came first in France. It was not a revolution by the poor, the workers or peasants alone. Several aristocrats and landlords were equally behind it. They supported that revolution in principle. Russia is another example. You may have noticed the same analogy there as well.

The best example is that of the Islamic revolution. When the Prophet of Islam began his mission of raising the banner of Islam high, his followers in the Quraish tribes parted from their own people, gave up everything and supported the Prophet. If you are dedicated to the promotion of principles and ideas, to the struggle for the uplift of the masses, then your origins do not matter. Our opponents will, however, refuse to appreciate this. They just cannot understand it. Actually they have no principles at all. They only look at personalities. They are only after their own interests.

Is it not an irony that we should be accused of running after power, while they themselves have been clinging to power and will not leave it at any cost? I would say to them: keep this power with you. We have no greed for it. You may be able to keep it for a few years. Had we been running after power, we would have preferred personal interests to national ones. We could have remained in power had we sacrificed our principles, we would have been in there right now had we planned to set up mills and factories.

I have often said, and would once again urge the Government to declare the assets of the President and ministers as they stand today and before they assumed office. Let us all declare our assets before and after Ayub's ten years of rule. I am willing to declare mine right now. Let them come forward and tell the people how much has been added to and taken from national wealth. Why don't

they do that? It has been done in other countries. There is nothing new in it, no "official secrets" are involved.

The Government has made it obligatory for the banks not to disclose the statements of accounts of their account holders, not even to the Government itself, without the prior permission of a court. Previously, the police was authorised to check the accounts of anyone required in connection with legal investigations. But now the power vests in the courts of law alone. There was no need for such a law. There must have been some motive behind it.

Everyone knows what the bank deposits of 80 per cent of our population are. How much can they have in banks while they have nothing in their stomachs and in their homes? The banks are only for the 22 families for whom the Government wants to provide secrecy. Why so? It is to cover up illegal money earned through exploitation. It is because they cannot explain its source. Well, if they are able to explain its source, why are such laws being made? If they have property, legally acquired, they have nothing to fear. They can genuinely claim that they earned it. But why do they keep it secret? They give the example of Switzerland, but only to the extent of hidden wealth. Switzerland should also be quoted as an example of democracy; but when they are told about this they start arguing that it is impossible to practise democracy in Pakistan. Why is it that the bank laws of Switzerland should be followed here while its democracy should be ignored, saying it cannot be followed here?

My dear brothers and friends, the Government suffered its first defeat when Khwaja Shahabuddin ran away from the political debate I had challenged him to. It met its second defeat when our party was formed, a party which is becoming stronger day by day. The third defeat came when it sent goondas to disrupt our public meeting in Multan. The goondas were armed with swords, pistols and hockey sticks. They came and sat near the stage. As the proceedings began, they began swinging hockey sticks and firing pistol shots. They started

advancing to the stage but the brave people saw to it that all of these goondas were sent packing. The Government met its fourth defeat in Dera Ismail Khan. It is now getting ready to face the fifth.

The agents of the Government will be defeated wherever they try to face use. It is because we are in the right. We are fighting for a just cause. We are on the right path practising the right principles. We are serving the people. We shall win, because we are fighting for the people's self-determination. They will lose because they have no principles. They are liars. It is the government of a few people. The people have no participation in it at all. The whole system is based on exploitation, violence and oppression. It is, therefore, logical that they will lose on all fronts and in all encounters while we will win. It is good they are trying for the fifth and sixth rounds. Victory will be ours, of the people!

The days of this government are numbered. When I say that, I am dubbed as a very dangerous man. Now, you tell me, what is dangerous about it? After all, there is always an end to everything. Why can't then this government end? Everything is mortal, including a government, indeed, all governments; but they accuse us of inciting rebellion. They say there will be bloodshed. Why should there be bloodshed? It is they who want bloodshed. What they did in Dera Ismail Khan proves it. Did we fire pistol shots? Did we use tear gas or hurl bayonets? These are their actions; yet I am accused of doing dangerous things.

However, there is only this difference: if they use a baton, we shall not run. They may beat us as much as they like. How long can they do it? They cannot beat up the whole nation, nor can they put us all in prisons. They cannot stifle all of us. We will come out. We will not retreat. We are determined never to retreat. We will move forward. They resorted to violence and goondaism in Multan. We faced them there, because the people were with us. They used tear gas in Dera Ismail Khan. We stood our ground. It is easy for them to do all this because they have the police at their disposal and for their protection. Their active politics is

making speeches before members of the Basic Democracies under the protective shadow of the police.

This government will never be able to face us. It will run away. It will never face its challengers in the political field. It thinks it will be able to keep up its violence, its police and threats for all times to come. But we, too, know how to fight back in our own fashion.

Let the Government keep all its valued possessions with it: wealth, force, police and government officials. We want nothing. We have nothing. We are empty-handed, but our hands are clean. We can fight the rulers. We will ultimately defeat them. There is simply no escape from it. We reaffirm that ours will be a lawful struggle, but if they continue with their unlawful cast we will not be overawed.

So where is the rebellion? Where is the bloodshed? It is they who do all the nasty things, but we shall stand up to them. Is that rebellion? It is the Government which is spreading rebellion and bringing about a revolution. It brought about the previous revolution! It has been harping on the advantages of a revolution, saying the country would otherwise have been destroyed. Did Ayub Khan really bring about a revolution? How is it that a revolution is good for him but not for the people? They justify revolution whenever they have to exploit and loot the country, but when the people demand their rights, they get unnerved.

We don't want bloodshed in the country. Why should we want it? It is they who resort to bloodshed. It is they who commit violence, but we are accused. We have a public meeting in Peshawar on the 5th. I hope you will come in large numbers and make it successful. I am grateful to you for having taken so much trouble to make the Convention a success.

The Struggle Continues
Speech at a Public Meeting, Peshawar,
November 5, 1968

I am grateful to you for coming here from far-flung areas to attend this public meeting, to hear me today.

We have been touring your province extensively. The people have sincerely accorded a warm welcome to us wherever we went. But then Section 144 remained all along with us.

You must have read about what happened in Dera Ismail Khan. Well, at least there has been some use of foreign aid. Not only were gas bombs thrown at us but we were also fired at. No newspaper reported these events.

My dear friends, I have heard that a grand public meeting will be held in this city on the 10th. Students, rickshawallas, tongawallas, peasants, labourers and the poor will attend this grand public meeting. We are proud of them all. But apart from these people the Basic Democrats will also attend the meeting, the sycophants, and the stooges. The President will be presented with a million rupees. This money will be spent on his elections. I think it would be better to give this amount to the Peshawar University, because it is badly in need of money. It is faced with an economic crisis. It would be advisable not to spend it on such useless projects as Ayub Khan's election.

We will also do whatever we can in this respect from our own resources. The Government has plenty of money. It has millions and millions. But we have empty pockets. But at least we are doing something. I have given Rs. 100 as a donation to the Peshawar University. Ayub Khan can spend a million rupees and I can only afford Rs. 100, but I will defeat him because you are with me.

Now, if you excite me by clapping and slogans, I will take off my jacket! If I do that, Musa Khan will get angry. I am already very much excited. My blood is already boiling. Therefore, please do not raise slogans but listen to me quietly.

We wanted to hold this meeting at Chowk Yadgar, because it was a central place. But the Government did not allow it. We wanted to hold this meeting on the 26th. The Government did not agree. As a result, the meeting was postponed to the 5th, the day when Section 144 was to be lifted. In postponing the meeting from the 26th to the 5th I made it quite clear to the Commissioner that if we were not allowed to hold a meeting on the 5th, then it will be held on the 10th. When we made this threat, the Government was forced to allow us to hold the meeting today. When we sought the Deputy Commissioner's permission to announce it over loud speakers, he told my colleagues he would consider the request. This was on the 3rd. Time was running out. So I telephoned the Commissioner. When he picked up the phone, he said, "Commissioner speaking." I said: "This is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto speaking." He said: Yes, "yes, what?" I said: "This is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto speaking." He then switched over from Urdu to English and said; "What do you want, boss?" I said to him "Are you not the same officer who was Commissioner of Karachi when I was a Minister. Have you now changed so much?" On hearing this, the Commissioner allowed the use of loudspeakers and I thanked him.

The heavens did not fall because this permission was given. What will happen if I make a speech here? There will not be any bloodshed or revolution. The Government creates difficulties for its own administration by enforcing Section 144.

I have also heard that all buses coming from University to Peshawar city have been banned. So also those coming from Mardan.

I am not a magician. I have nothing new to say, nothing you may not already know. There will be nothing new in my words. If I say there is poverty in the country, is that a revelation? If I say there is dictatorship in the country, will you be surprised? You know all about your country and the difficulties you are facing. So what difference does it make if we contact the masses and speak to them?

It was not an act of kindness to allow us the use of loudspeakers. These officials have actually been kind to their Government by granting us the permission. They have not done us any favour.

My dear friends, it is said there is democracy in the country. If that is true, then why are the newspapers controlled? Why then Section 144 or the Basic Democracies System? There is absolutely no democracy in the country. Dictatorship prevails here. The majority have no say in the Government. The people have no place in the Government. The military rules here along with Basic Democrats, the capitalists and officials. These are the pillars of this corrupt Government. It is nevertheless a weak Government. It is wrong to think that it is a strong Government capable of facing the opposition. How can it be a powerful Government when all its policies are anti-people? Where can a government gain its strength when 120 million people are against it? How far will it manage to save itself on the strength of its financial position? How long will it be able to run its affairs with the help of the 22 families? How far will it continue oppressing the labourers, peasants and students? It is a weak Government, and we are determined to fight against it with full force.

It is a Government of cannibals. It ate up Khwaja Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy—I do not want to name Madar-i-Millat—it ate up General Azam Khan. It devoured so many personalities, and still it feels hungry. But it will not be able to eat me.

My friends, the bare facts are now before you. Corruption has increased to an extent that the poor cannot move an inch without offering a bribe. Lawlessness and moral degeneration are everywhere. I am not very familiar with the situation here. But I am more familiar with the conditions in the Sind area where there is a complete breakdown of law and order. Prices are sky-high. None of the basic necessities of life are available. The poor are in a miserable condition everywhere in Pakistan.

Yet, it is argued that the country has made tremendous progress, and that there is stability. What stability? The stability of the graveyard? The Government has only managed to perpetuate misery. If you look at the situation throughout the country—in Sind, the Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan— you will see stark deterioration. I know the people are determined to rise against the Government. The situation in Bengal is no less serious. I wonder how our unity can now be maintained. I am very pessimistic about it.

And on top of all these problems there is misrepresentation of facts. The regime says I am supporting the Six Points, while in the past I had opposed them. This is absolutely wrong. In 1966, I had warned the Government that the Six Points were a political problem and that we should take the bull by the horns and prove them to be a misguided programme. A general debate should have taken place to expose the inherent contradictions of the Six Points. I had forewarned that the situation would go out of control if force was used instead. But the Government did not allow the debate deliberately. We could have defeated the Six-pointers politically. We could have got the people's verdict against the Six Points. But Ayub Khan's Government insisted on solving this problem through force, through arrests, 'lathis' and 'dandas'. Such problems cannot be solved by arresting people. How can you go on arresting seventy million people? Can you arrest all of them? Even if you manage to do this, please remember that ideas can never be put behind bars.

We see conditions deteriorating from all sides. When we point to these facts we are accused of creating disruption. We are charged with attempting to mislead the students. I regret the misrepresentation of facts by the rulers. I would have put up with that if the charges were made by leaders but I can never put up with misrepresentation of facts by Begum Khaliqz-zaman. She describes me as a frustrated man.

I would say to Begum Sahiba that I alone am not frustrated. The whole nation is disappointed, heartbroken and frustrated.

There was a time when I was Secretary-General of the Pakistan Muslim League. I used to meet her husband, Khaliqz-zaman. Begum Khaliqz-zaman used to be very kind to me; she would serve me tea and biscuits, mixing sugar in my cup. Now she says we are misleading the nation, particularly the students.

My dear friends, what does the Government want us to do? Does it want us to sit idle at home? I know we have to face many odds. It is our duty to face difficulties and defeat dictatorship on all fronts at all costs.

It is said that no opposition can succeed against the B.D, members because they are paid by the Government and are under its pressure. Of course, they will vote for dictatorship. As a result of this gloom some parties have not yet decided to participate in the elections. They think it pointless to fight such rigged elections. Some of them are of the opinion that the elections will not be held. They say that even if such elections are held, the Government will win them through the police, the administration and by the use of other force.

I know there is a world of difference between the elections held under a democracy and under dictatorship. It is true that if elections were held on the basis of adult franchise and under democratic principles, the people would vote freely. Fair elections can be held under democracy. In contrast, under the B.D,

system only 80,000 Stooges are given the right of vote. I do not agree with the pessimists. We have to face and fight dictatorship whenever we find an opportunity. A dictatorship is hit and weakened gradually, in stages. For instance, if Miss Fatima Jinnah had not fought the elections, the present consciousness among the people would not have risen to this level. The Government would not have become as weak as it is today. Her participation in the elections was the first showdown with the Government. The removal of Kalabagh was the second, while the post-Tashkent situation was the third. Now a final push is needed to topple the monster. So, come what may, we will fight the elections. We will not allow this wicked Government to exist. We will try to make the Government run away from the scene. We will expose its misdeeds, the betrayal of the country and its deterioration. We will not miss this opportunity. We must participate in the elections. We will let the Government know that despite the support of the B.D, members, the 22 families and the officials we will defeat it: we will certainly defeat it because the people are against it.

Our rulers have no birthright to impose a bad government on the people forever. What service have they done to the country and its people? They have only blessed the 22 families. The whole wealth—virtually all the resources of the country, are in the hands of these 22 families. The country's economy depends on them. How can they know the plight of the poor people? How can they know the difficulties of a poor man when his son falls sick or cannot go to school? The poor man cannot even buy a shroud to bury his dead child.

It is said there has been great development. I ask you where is it? You have put the whole wealth into the hands of the 22 families.

Let the government officials remain on the alert at the time of the elections. They are not personal servants of this Government. They are not paid to work against the people. Governments come and go, but the officials remain. They must not interfere in politics. They are not paid only to say yes to all actions

of the Government. They are not paid to do dirty jobs for the Government. They are paid to tell the difference between legal and illegal actions. They should not do everything they are asked to do whether wrong or right. They are not as helpless as they consider themselves to be. I warn them, we will not spare them if they do anything wrong in the elections.

We have a list of all such officers—from Section Officers to the Secretaries—who have been doing dirty jobs for the Government. They have been overdoing things. They need to be checked. We will set them right. This Government cannot reform them. We will do that. A people's government will bridle them. A government of the poor, the labourers and of the students will bridle them. This corrupt Government cannot do it. The wicked Government has to use them for its dirty jobs. It depends on them. It knows that without their help it cannot win elections. The Government, therefore, depends on them. In fact government officers have been ruling this country. They know the Government has no support of the people.

Corruption is on the increase. There is no fear, for there is no accountability. There is none to catch them. I, therefore, warn such government officers who indulge in undesirable activities—I do not say all of them do so—to mend their ways. We will have no complaint against them if they begin doing things the right way. As I told you earlier, the permission to use loudspeakers in Dera Ismail Khan was not given. We have no complaint against the officers who gave us this permission in Peshawar. But I must give a general warning to all of them that if they act as stooges of the Government, and commit irregularities at its behest, we will not spare them. If, however, they remain within the law, and act in accordance with the law, we will treat them as our brothers.

The B.D, members too, are our brothers. We do not intend to end the Basic Democracies system, for it is a good system so far as it is concerned with local self-government, municipalities or union councils. But their participation in

the election of a President amounts to usurpation of the rights of the people. The B.D, members should have no such rights. We will take away this right from them, for there has to be a system of *Musawat* in this country. The B.D, members have been imposed like Brahmins on an Islamic State. The Government has given them the role of doctors to treat us as if all of us were patients. They have been teaching us as if all of us are illiterate. They were 80,000 before, but now they have been increased to 120,000. So they will keep on increasing as we continue to improve through them! Will there be a day when all patients become doctors and write their own electoral prescriptions?

I would like to warn the B.D, members to keep national interests supreme and desist from doing wrong. They have been tempted by financial considerations. If they serve the hated minority Government, they would destroy the country which would be against their own interest. After all who would survive if the country did not remain?

They must realise what would happen if the people turned against them and demanded a change. They must show farsightedness. Since we have come forward as a political force, with determination not to relinquish our political obligations, the Government has begun filing false cases against our comrades. It thinks that by doing so it can deter us from pursuing our objectives. It cannot do so, come what may. We have clean hands. I have been Minister incharge of Commerce, Industry and Natural Resources and of Foreign Affairs. Had I weaknesses I would have had as much wealth as the rulers have today.

Today, I challenge the whole Government from provincial and central Ministers to the President to come forward and declare their assets as they were before their joining the Government and as they stand now. We are prepared to do the same.

It is a shame that for the last two years the Government has been trying to involve me by hook or by crook, in some false case or the other. I was approached two or three times and was offered anything provided I promised to give up politics. But I refused these offers saying I wanted nothing, no mills, factories or ambassadorial jobs. I have to serve this country. It is my foremost duty to arouse consciousness among the masses and to eliminate poverty and misery.

The Government has stooped so low as to resort to instituting false cases against me. Scores of cases have actually been filed in the past two years. Well, they can arrest me, if they like. They can kill me, if they wish. But we are determined to expose them. They should not think they can do anything since they have power. Although we have no power, we are in the right. Justice must triumph for the people are with us, and we have been fighting for them.

We know they have many Ministers, although they are good for nothing. One of them has said that once I was a supporter of the B.D, system, but am now its critic. This is not true.

But my dear friends, let it be known, I am the same servant of yours. I have not changed. There has been no change in my ideas. It is the Government that has betrayed the nation and the country.

When this Government came into power, everybody had supported it, including the Madar-i-Millat and all of you. It was because the Government had made promises. They had pledged to end corruption, to ensure justice, to bring about prosperity and to win the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. That is why we supported them. We supported the B.D, system, for all political parties had been banned, and replaced by this system. Even now we support the system, but to an extent to which it can serve the people. But we will oppose it when it changes and causes damage.

I would like to remind the Government of its promise to end corruption. I now ask them: "Has corruption ended or increased?" The Government has backed out of all its promises. And then you will recall that it had disqualified several politicians alleging that they were enemies of the country. But now you see that one such "disqualified" politician is a provincial Minister. Once the Government had arrested Khan of Kalat and kept him in jail for four years, but now he had been made an adviser to Governor Musa. Mahmood Haroon was ousted from the provincial Government on charges of working against a Muslim League candidate in the elections, but now he has been made High Commissioner in London.

All this shows that the Government has changed and not Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. They have been levelling false charges against me. They think the people can be misguided. They insult the people, they bank on their illiteracy. They have been trying to create difficulties for us so that we cannot maintain contacts with the people.

We have to replace dictatorship by democracy, not Basic Democracies. We want a democracy in which the people rule. We do not want democracy merely because we love the word democracy. We want it because through democracy alone a people's government can be formed. That is why we have been struggling for it. It ensures government by the majority, and administration of justice. It will ensure happiness to the country to the people of both East and West Pakistan.

But democracy alone will not do. Along with democracy we want an end to poverty. Unless poverty is eliminated, workers have a say in their mills and factories, and until more peasants become landowners and big land holdings are reduced in size a truly popular government cannot be established.

We want democracy as well as socialism. Both are complementary to each other, and can be administered simultaneously.

There is no contradiction between democracy, socialism and Islam. No conflict whatsoever. If there were to be a conflict, it could have been with socialism, for we are Muslims first. And we believe in socialism, because it does not conflict with Islam. Islam ensures *Musawat*; in fact it is based on *Musawat*. After all what kind of *Musawat* it is that the 22 families should garner the wealth of the whole country?

On the 10th you may be told not to listen to us, for we are disruptionists; that Family Planning has made big strides and that the Mexi-Pak wheat has done such and such wonders.

You may also be told how difficult it is to end corruption, and be advised not to offer bribes in an effort to end corruption.

Just imagine that! I would say to the rulers: for heaven's sake take pity on the poor. How can the poor offer bribes when they have virtually nothing to eat or wear?

Well, if the Government cannot end corruption, if it cannot serve the people and is tired of doing anything for them, it should quit.

Let us come to power. We will show you how to end corruption and to serve the people. You will never be able to serve them because you only know how to serve a minority.

The Government has also accused me of being hungry for power. They contend that that is the reason why I want to bring about a revolution and cause bloodshed. But then how could I leave the Ministership if I were power-hungry?

The Government alone is afflicted with hunger for power for it has been clinging to office for ten years and does not seem to be willing to leave it, although it knows that the people have turned against it.

We only want to have the power transferred to the people. That is why we have come forward. The people's voice has been stifled in this country for too long.

Silence is not stability. We have broken the silence. People can now speak. We are the voice of the people.

I wish there could be a united front to fight the elections, a front based on principles. There should be democracy and socialism in the country. We are prepared to enter into an agreement with the opposition and friends in other political parties to unite. I have told them we don't want to betray the people. They have been betrayed before. Twenty years is enough. The people must not be cheated now. They are no longer going to put up with miseries; they cannot tolerate any more injustice.

Hats off to the people for living under such great hardships. There is a limit to everything. It is not the law of nature that the poor of this country should always remain so, groping in the dark for bread and butter, for clothing and shelter.

There has been progress in all the four corners of the world. You can see this in Iran. Well, not only in Iran. There are instances of England, U.S.A., Russia—everywhere there has been progress.

Why should conditions be so miserable in Pakistan? Only because an unscrupulous government has imposed itself on the people. Had there been a popular government in office, prosperity could have come to Pakistan.

Now a few words on foreign policy. When I say something about foreign policy it is said why I do not talk about domestic affairs, and when I speak on the internal situation, they want me to say something on foreign policy. I don't know what I should do.

If I name the Tashkent Declaration and Kashmir, the Government cries hoarse saying that state secrets are being disclosed. Musa Khan alleges that I disclosed state secrets in my Hyderabad speech and that I had thus violated the oath I had taken to guard state secrets. In fact I divulged no secrets and said nothing against the state. But look what the Government did? They virtually desecrated the oath of their offices.

I am a responsible patriot. If I had to disclose state secrets, I would have done so when I was accorded a grand welcome at the Lahore Railway Station following my exit from Government in June, 1966. I would not have kept quiet at that critical time. But I know it would have been against the national interest to say anything at a time when the Indian troops were on our borders.

But that time has passed now. A few days from now we will be able to say things openly, and it will be our duty to tell everything to the masses.

In Hyderabad, Musa Khan declared that the Indians had requested for a ceasefire. It was a significant statement in the sense that, on the one hand, Musa Khan accuses me of disclosing state secrets and, on the other confesses that Pakistan ceased fire at the request of India, because the great powers pressed for it.

Well, you see then how our Government acted to stop the war at the enemy's request. What logic is it to sacrifice the nation's fundamental interests because of the big powers? Let them cite a single example of any country having

done the same. Had this been a valid reason, the war in Vietnam would have ended a long time ago.

As a matter of fact it was not world opinion, for a majority of the countries in the world supported Pakistan. You will recall Shastri's statement at one time in which he regretted that India had become isolated, and that the whole world was with Pakistan. You know very well that Iran, Indonesia, the Arab states, the Latin American and African countries, France, in fact the whole world, supported Pakistan.

How then do they argue that they stopped the war because of world opinion? On the one hand, it is said that India had practically begged for a ceasefire and, on the other, it is contended that world opinion demanded it.

We are obliged to ask them why they stopped the war. They committed a mistake in doing so because the whole world was with us. And now when I point out these elementary things, it is alleged that state secrets are being disclosed. Don't you know the name of the country that gave an ultimatum to India? Indeed the whole world knows it.

My only fault is that I stated in my Hyderabad speech that when I came back successfully after performing an assignment, and informed the President about my success, he jumped from his chair, embraced me saying I had done a great service to the country. My fault lies in his compliments, in his declaration that the country would not forget my services.

Well, now although the country has not forgotten that good deed, the President and his Government have forgotten it, alleging that I disclosed so much that was a state secret. I did not reveal any secrets in my speech. I did not mention the timing and the object of my visit. I did not say how often I went to China. I went to China four or five times. Strangely enough the Government itself

has disclosed a secret by saying that I had not gone there alone, that I was accompanied by another person. Moreover, they say that I had gone during the war. I did not give this detail in my speech. I only said that I had gone on a particular occasion. But the Government goes further to say that I was accompanied by another person. Who was he? Well, there were pilots with me.

Stooges of the Government do not know that at Hyderabad I was not referring to that visit. There was another visit, a visit I undertook alone. I have not referred to the visit when another person was with me. It was a different visit. How could the President embrace only me on my return had that other person been with me on that visit?

The Government talks of State secrets while the world newspapers, including those of India, have been publishing reports about how and from where Pakistan gets help. So, in saying these things which are known, I have not disclosed state secrets.

Is it not an irony that Ayub's son should be allowed to say in Karachi that Pakistan has received aid from various countries, including China, while I am criticised if I do the same?

Who does not know that Indonesia of President Soekarno helped us? The whole world knows except perhaps the ungrateful Government of Ayub Khan.

Despite all this, it is suggested that I should be tried in a court of law for disclosing state secrets. Let it be known then that I am prepared to be prosecuted. But if you tell lies to the people, I am constrained to speak the truth. It is absolutely wrong that my utterances are harmful to national interests.

Take the Kashmir issue as an example. Whenever required, the Government functionaries come here to tell the Pathans that they will continue fighting

for the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris. But this is only a political gimmick. They have put the Kashmir issue aside. Behind the scene they argue that an incorrect, rather emotional, policy was pursued by me on the Kashmir issue; that it was a policy of the youth. The Government, therefore, has been tactfully advising the people to be realistic and not emotional on this issue.

But we want to tell the Government we are not emotional. We are only self-respecting. We will never back out of our pledge to the people of Kashmir. Why does the Government wish to frighten us by mentioning all the time the size of the armed forces of India?

We are on the right path and we have a just cause. God helps those nations which fight for their rights and for justice. But then why does the Government keep demoralising the people on Kashmir? It will Struggle for its factories and mills, it will struggle to hoard sugar, to deposit money in foreign banks but not for the cause of Jammu and Kashmir.

What can this Government do for the people? We will struggle for the people. We will make sacrifices for the people.

It has been propagated that only one person has saved and served the country. He brought about revolution, gave everything to the people—the B.D, system, the Constitution and a respectable place in the comity of nations. Well, if a single individual could perform all these miracles, could an individual like me not frame the country's foreign policy?

After all they should let others do something. Will they continue doing all the good things by themselves? True, you have been the be-all and end-all. You have given everything to this country. True also, that we all are illiterate, a foolish lot with no rights at all. The only wise man in Pakistan is running the Government. We are nobodies, the good-for-nothing types. Well, if this single

individual did everything, including the framing of foreign policy, we too must have been doing something.

Musa Khan quoted me as saying that India was afraid of me. He then went on to ask how could the Indian Government be scared of me? Actually I never said that the Indian Government was afraid of me. It is only the Indian Government itself which says so.

India became jubilant when I left the Government in 1966. You may read the newspapers of those days. It was said that in removing me from the Government, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, N.Pk., H.J etc, etc, had shown great kindness to India. I did not say these words. It was said by the Indian Government. However, if the Indian Government can have respect for one person, it can be afraid of another.

Now, you want me to say something on Tashkent, however little it may be. I would only tell you that Shastri died there. Look, my friends, I have already told you I will do my duty when the time comes. I am here and will remain here. I will not run away to Washington. We all have to account for our doings here. Our generations have to live here. We have to build this country. So when a suitable opportunity comes, I will do my duty. You have already shown patience. I will request you to be patient for a few more days.

Had the Pakistan People's Party been in power at the time of the Arab-Israel war in the Middle East we would have deprived the Israeli Defence Minister of his second eye. But it is regrettable that the largest Islamic State could not play its role which she could and should have played. And the situation is that while Kashmir is with the Indians, and Jerusalem with the Israelis, we still claim that Pakistan has made big progress. If the Pakistan People's Party came into power, and it will *Insha Allah*, then you will see that not only will the lot of the poor labourers and peasants improve, but also no Indian will be seen in Kashmir

and no Israeli in Jerusalem. But first of all we have to attack the Government in Islamabad. We will continue this struggle. We will continue moving forward. We are prepared for all sacrifices. We don't want bloodshed in the country. But we cannot be frightened in the name of bloodshed. It is the Government that is leading us that way. While it objects to our talking about revolution, the Government itself feels proud of having brought about a revolution in the country. Well, if it is proud of its own revolution, there is no reason why it should be afraid of a people's revolution. If it feels proud of a revolution brought about by the minority, why should it be scared of the one to be brought about by the majority?

The Government will be well advised not to frighten us for we will not feel frightened. We are only afraid of the Almighty. With the blessings of the God Almighty, and the cooperation of our friends, we will certainly succeed. The time is approaching when you will see for yourself that this sterile Government, weary, tired, sick and incapable of doing any service to the country, is thrown out. If it wants to avoid bloodshed, it must quit as soon as possible. With the reaffirmation of this pledge, I now beg leave of you. I promise I will meet you again. In the meantime, I am confident that if the Government sends me to jail you will throw it out of office.

Suggestions and Advice to Ayub
Address at Karachi Press Club,
January 18, 1969

On coming to Karachi my first impulse has naturally been to meet and address the people of this great city, which was once the capital of Pakistan and whose citizens originate from every pan of the subcontinent. Karachi is truly representative in this manner of all Muslims of Pakistan. I was profoundly moved by the extraordinary welcome all sections of the population accorded me yesterday on my arrival. I cannot find words to express my gratitude to them.

Yesterday, a large number of the local inhabitants at Liaquatabad had gathered in the expectation of my coming there to meet them. The long procession from the Railway Station to Quaid-i-Azam's Mazar took many hours. Meanwhile troublemakers started provoking the people gathered at Liaquatabad. What followed later led to the loss of several lives and injuries to many people. On being reliably informed that mischief-makers were awaiting my arrival to use it as a pretext for using violence against the unarmed people of Liaquatabad, I decided not to give these provocateurs the opportunity to carry out their plan.

I am deeply grieved by the suffering of the people in Liaquatabad who have in the recent days gone through much tribulations. I extend my sympathy to the bereaved families of those who have been killed and to all those who have suffered injury and loss.

While the procession was going towards Quaid-i-Azam's Mazar, it was attacked along the route by gangs of people, who had undoubtedly organised this affair well in advance. The police did not take action against these troublemakers, although they knew about the preparations a good while before. News about these preparations had been circulating for some time. This is an

example of how the authorities are behaving, protecting the mischief-makers on the side of the regime and harassing the public.

The situation throughout the country is tense. In East Pakistan, disturbances of an alarming nature are continuing, with loss of life and damage to property. The people have been made victims of violence and brutality.

That the country is in the throes of a very serious crisis no one doubts. Nor is there any doubt that the people of Pakistan have risen against a regime which has for ten years deprived them of their liberties and has, in the course of those years, become progressively worse.

The meaning of the crisis is simply that the people want a change. The change, if it is to be for the better, must be for a new system free from the evils of corruption, social and economic injustices, and positively democratic, not merely giving the formal appearance of democracy. But the first task for all of us is to find a way of initiating this change in such a manner that a better system can come into being as quickly and as effectively as possible.

I do not know what result the leaders of political parties who are entering into negotiations with the President expect to obtain. They must know to what extent they are willing to compromise with the regime and how firmly they are resolved to stand on principles. I do not know their minds but for my part I would not like to say anything that might be construed as not wishing them well should they be making a genuine effort in the cause of democracy according to their own lights.

I would like to take this opportunity to make certain suggestions which I think are necessary for the creation of a better atmosphere.

They are as follows:

1. The Government must make a commitment to free the press from restrictions and until the necessary legal changes are made to treat the repressive laws relating to the press as suspended.

2. The President has himself accepted that there is a need to remove the grievances of the people of the underdeveloped regions. The negotiating team on the Government side includes representatives from these regions. Therefore, the President should invite popular opposition leaders from these regions to express their views.

3. The Government should make a commitment to consult student leaders on all questions affecting the student community and before any laws relating to their rights and education are passed.

4. The Government should immediately release all political and labour leaders, workers and students who have not yet been released or have been rearrested under security laws.

5. The Government should announce that it will pay adequate compensation to the families of those who have been killed and to the persons who have been injured by the action of the authorities against the movement.

6. The Government should appoint a High Court judge or some other eminent member of the judiciary to conduct an independent enquiry into the desecration of mosques and the actions of brutality committed by the police and government officials.

7. An independent enquiry should be made by a High Court judge into the firing at Rawalpindi on the 7th of November last and the firing at Nowshera which began the series of repressive government actions.

8. The Government should make a commitment to repeal the Political Parties Act and, until the repeal is formally made, to treat that Act as nonexistent.

9. The sale of Government agricultural land to anyone except to landless peasants and small holders should be immediately stopped.

10. Consultations should begin with labour leaders to remove the restrictions against trade unions on the right to strike and with organisations which are against the accepted norms of trade unions and labour rights.

Detention Challenged
Affidavit in High Court, Lahore,
February 5, 1969

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was arrested on November 13, 1968, at Lahore. In an affidavit filed by him, with reference to Begum Nusrat Bhutto's writ petition in the High Court of West Pakistan, Lahore, he said:

"I, Zulfikar Ali, son of the late Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, Muslim, adult, resident of Larkana, at present in detention at the Borstal Jail, Lahore, West Pakistan, on solemn affirmation state as hereinafter:

That I am the detenu in the above writ petition filed by my wife. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the petitioner, challenging the order of my detention dated November 12, 1968, passed by the Governor of West Pakistan under Rule 32 of the Defence of Pakistan Rules. That I have perused the writ petition, the written statement filed by the respondents thereto, materials placed on the record of this Hon'ble Court in support of the grounds of my detention and the statement made by Home Secretary before this Hon'ble Court.

That I have under my signature submitted before this Hon'ble court, additional grounds in support of the petition, and I hereby verify and reiterate that the contents of the said additional grounds are true and correct and may be adopted as a part of this affidavit.

That the impugned order of detention is bad in law and based upon the *mala fides* of the respondent so that I am being detained without lawful authority and in an unlawful manner. In support of this contention I submit for consideration of this Hon'ble Court the following facts and grounds:

I emphatically reject the charges contained in the memorandum of the Home Department reciting the grounds for my detention under the Defence of

Pakistan Rules. They are as baseless in fact as they are wicked in purpose. Being devoid of substance, they derive their spurious force solely from the formidable disguise of legal form which the Defence of Pakistan Rules so admirably offer.

In my supplementary grounds filed in the Honourable Court on November 29, 1968, I have denied the charges contained in the grounds of detention furnished to me on November 13, 1968. I take this opportunity to emphatically reassert that the charges are a tissue of lies, malicious in intent and dishonest in purpose. My utterances and remarks, made extemporaneously in the course of long speeches, made in many places, have been deliberately torn out of context and even fabricated. I have not made any disclosure of the affairs of state which would prejudice Pakistan's relations with foreign powers. Nor have I incited the masses, in particular the students, to violate law or to create disorder by resort to violence. As an illustration I would like to mention that the use of the expression "the last push" needed to change the Government has been attributed to me in an entirely false and mischievous context. As a matter of fact, I used the expression within the framework of the constitutional position, so much so that I specifically stated the exact number of days left to this Government before its term expired under the Constitution. For instance, I stated in my speech at Lahore on November 11, 1968, that there were only 12 months and 19 days left to the Government. Similarly, in my speeches in the Frontier region, I mentioned the exact number of days left to the Government before its replacement through the election process.

I spoke extemporaneously at Hyderabad to a restricted meeting in the compound of Mir Rasul Bakhsh Talpur's bungalow for over two and a half hours. The fact that I declared in that convention of the Pakistan People's Party that if an agreed candidate for Presidential elections was not forthcoming from East Pakistan and if an agreement could not be reached on any from West Pakistan, I

would contest the elections, cannot better demonstrate my intentions to wage a constitutional struggle against the regime.

At Kohat, I again spoke extemporaneously for over an hour. It has been falsely alleged in the grounds of detention that in that speech I said that if the Government did not abdicate in my favour I would forcibly get hold of power. Nowhere in my speeches have I made such a preposterous submission. The purpose of my political activity is to serve the people of Pakistan not by seizing power but by participating in the common struggle with the people for the restoration of their lost rights. Had I hankered after power, I would have compromised principles and remained in a position of privilege instead of facing a plethora of persecutions.

I reiterate that at Dera Ismail Khan I made no attempt to make a public speech. I briefly thanked the people for their generous reception and in view of Section 144 of Cr. P.C, appealed to them to disperse. I spoke briefly for about 15 minutes.

At the Lahore District Bar Association, I made an extemporaneous speech on November 11, 1968, for approximately 40 minutes. The speech dealt with foreign policy. Being disturbed by the Government's offer of a no-war pact with India, I analysed the deleterious consequences of the offer.

I repeat that all the references made to my speeches in the grounds of detention have been torn out of context, maliciously misconstrued, falsely interpreted and put out of focus. Besides, the reports of the speeches, which appear to have been taken in long hand, are at best only short summaries of long speeches wherein, several phrases or words do not appear in the context in which these were uttered.

I assert that the true reasons why I have been deprived of my freedom are neither mentioned in the specified charges nor have relation with their contents. The reasons are, of course, relevant to the case, but even the most shameless of governments could hardly venture to state them in public. But they are there all the same, constituting the *mala fides* that permeates the highhanded actions of the authorities against me and is in the pith and marrow of the charges themselves.

The allegations in the charges can hang together only if it is assumed that there was a plan, conspiracy or plot, hatched by me, my party or my comrades to overthrow the Government by force. I deny that there was any plan, conspiracy or plot engineered by me in collaboration with any of my comrades in the Pakistan People's Party with any such object or intention. The plan is of the Government's making, a figment of its imagination, a symptom of its ailing condition. In the darkness of the ten years of its rule everything appears to it as a conspiracy.

The popular agitation in the country is an expression of protest against a derelict system, a reflection of the resentment against the general state of affairs. The voices raised in the streets are a spontaneous verdict of the people against the excesses of the regime, its corruption, its selfish purposes, its contempt for the rights of man, its corroding of institutions, its dependence on an oppressive bureaucracy, its failure to serve the common weal, its pedantic approach to culture, its insulation from the people and its insatiable appetite for family fortunes.

I will not say I love this Government or like its ways. We know to what degree this regime is unpopular, even detested by the people of Pakistan. The troubles attributed to me have been a natural consequence of the acts of the Government, I should say misrule and oppression which have alienated the masses. The wave of unrest sweeping the country is an expression of the

general discontent, which had found ways of coming to the surface in spite of innumerable repressive acts of the authorities. The people have come out in the open to protest against the years of oppression and all the evils that afflict our society on account of the regime's method of ruling the country.

Our people are not different from those of other countries. There is a limit to their endurance. They feel the pain of privation and yearn for the happiness of their children. Their poverty is unimaginable but yet they hope for a better future. They are entitled to a decent livelihood, to shelter and clothing. Starvation has dried the milk in the mother's breast and suffering has dried many a father's tear. It is not the law of God that our people must live eternally in despair and that their children should die of disease and want. Our people demand a better life for themselves and for their children; they want food and clothing, employment and protection. These are not wild dreams but the expectations arising out of this marvellous age of science. Deny them their rights and they will find a redeemer and if none is available they will redeem themselves. No plan for change is needed when the people seek it. The mood of the people is the plan. But arrogant functionaries, oblivious of this, want only to find final solutions for the regime's perpetuation.

Nothing that I might say or do can possibly stir the masses in any way unless the objective situation exists, and this objective situation is that the masses have been aroused and are protesting on their own initiative. There has been no conspiracy or plot whatever—unless on the Government's side—affecting the economic and social well-being of the nation. The sugar scarcity, for example, was not caused by any plot of my party, but had the definite effect of enraging the people. It was the Government itself which was responsible for this, amongst other examples of gross economic mismanagement and corruption. Economic mismanagement is a most potent factor of political discontent.

The classical excuse of colonial masters, whenever subject people have risen against them, has been that all the troubles are due to a handful of political agitators. They used to shoot, hang and imprison, hoping to stem the tide of national awakening. The British used to ascribe, in their time, every demand for freedom to the machinations of a few irresponsible agitators. This Government would like to make the world believe much the same sort of thing.

The phenomenon of change is the law of nature. It lies in the conditions of society and not in imaginary plans. There must be something brittle about this system if the Government feels its edifice shaky after a week's tour of mine. The people acclaimed me not because I was putting a plan of violence into action but because I represented their feelings when I declared that corruption had permeated all levels, that the students were in chains, that the people were in agony and that the conditions had become intolerable. Unlike the President who threatened to use the language of weapons in a speech he delivered in Dacca in April, 1966. I employed the weapon of language, a democratic means to reach the people and to join them in the common search for a better future founded on egalitarian concepts bound together by the rule of law.

To go to the heart of the problem I submit that I have been arbitrarily thrown into jail not for expressing these views but for the differences I developed with the regime over the ceasefire and the Tashkent Declaration. If the veil is lifted, this question will solve the enigma which hung over my sudden departure from Government, and explain my persecution and detention. Stripped of the maze of prejudice and fabrication, the truth, radiant in its clarity, stands as my witness when I say that neither I preached violence nor hatched a plan to instigate the students. Signs of decomposition are writ large on the fatigued face of the regime. But sick or rejuvenated, I did, not plan its violent overthrow. On the contrary, the Government has employed force frequently, staining the land with the blood of innocent people. This has happened everywhere; sometimes in Baluchistan and sometimes in East Pakistan; on occasions, it is in the Punjab

and Sind; on others, in the ramparts of our northern region. After rigged elections, the men of the regime have held victory parades in the streets of Karachi in Caesarian splendour.

The regime born of force holds its much trumpeted stability on the muscle of force. It justified the use of force in October, 1958, to save the country from disintegration. And where, pray may I ask, does the country stand today? By coercion and corruption, the Government has brought the country to the verge of collapse. This regime, which has slandered the word 'revolution' in describing its *coup d'etat*, celebrates a Revolution Day each year, but has the temerity to punish people for uttering that word.

Not long ago, while defending the 'democratic' nature of the system, the Governor of West Pakistan gave vent to his wisdom by observing that democracy was not an elephant which could be produced before the people for them to touch it. Yes. My Lords, democracy is certainly not an elephant, but it exists nevertheless like a breath of fresh air, like the fragrance of a spring flower. It is a melody of liberty, richer in sensation than a tangible touch. But more than a feeling, democracy is fundamental right, it is adult franchise, the secrecy of ballot, free press free association, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the legislature controls on the executive and other related conditions which are conspicuously absent in the regime's system. Under the canons of this regime, the printed word is in disgrace, the franchise limited to individuals subject either to intimidation or allurements, the body of law contaminated by arbitrary edicts the legislature exists on sufferance fundamental rights held in suspension and the right of assembly in ashes in the furnace of Section 144. By any objective criterion this monument that the regime has built cannot be called democracy.

This is the depressing reality but this does not necessarily mean that a change is not possible without violence. The regime can be changed by making full use of limited available means. The urge for change is so irresistible among

the people that the country can be prepared for change without violence. It can be politically demonstrated that the regime is no longer acceptable to the people of Pakistan, that it has lost their confidence and that, as such, it is in the regime's enlightened self-interest to vacate office in good time. If there is no room in the system for a positive expression of the will of the people, a negative mandate can be politically registered against the regime. To state this truth in the service of the people of Pakistan, is not to preach bloodshed.

Sycophants will never dare to expose the ugly truth. I am not in a position to cure the current malignancy without addressing the people. Only the Government is armed with the authority to effect change without public debate. If the Government does not want demonstrations against its policies, the answer lies with the Government, The Government can change its policies, democratise its laws and liberalise the system to satisfy the people. It can bring contentment by rendering justice and by enforcing humane, political and economic conditions. But there are demonstrations and people are bitter because this Government does quite the opposite and it calls its oppression "a strong centre."

In a comprehensive note written by the Home Secretary to the Governor of West Pakistan on November 11,1968, on the general law and order situation he had come to the conclusion that the real cause lay not directly with the students but on those who instigated them and exploited them for political purposes. The Home Secretary has incurred my gratitude for exonerating the students. My Lords, I will concede straightway that the cause of troubles does not lie directly or indirectly with the students. Our students have sufficient sense to distinguish between right and wrong. They are being taught to acquire knowledge. I have infinite faith in the younger generation. I believe that this generation of young men and women will succeed where the older generation failed. They have been blessed with the imagination and the energy to carry the burden of future times. This generation of the young which has captured world attention is not capable of being easily exploited. Only an abysmal ignorance of

modern conditions would lead a person to such a conclusion.

My Lords, I have no power to confer benefits on the students. Except for my affection and trust I cannot shower them with the patronage that the Government possesses in abundance. All material advantages including control over propaganda, are at the command of the Government and yet this regime has lost the allegiance of the student community. In contrast, I have no access to the students. I am barred from reaching them in their universities. Day in and day out the wheels of the Government propaganda machinery grind incessantly to spread poison against me. But the student community is so enlightened that despite the Government's preponderant advantages, it has failed to exploit the students. My Lords, the students of today are vigilant and cannot be misled. Because the Government has not understood the student community and has chosen to treat them with Suspicion, its functionaries make the unforgivable mistake of concluding that the flower of our society, the elite of the morrow, is so naive as to be exploited for political purposes.

The Home Secretary's note on the political situation nevertheless makes the student of Pakistan the beast of burden of the political malaise. In his vigorous search for reform, the student everywhere is not the exploited beast of burden shepherded by political agitators but the engine of progress determined to end exploitation. His imprint is visible in every country throughout the world. He is the international crusader against outmoded norms of society and Government. This is the university student whom the Government regards as a misguided plaything—a piece of clay in my hands.

I have been accused of inciting the students, as if the students were not already awake and vocally protesting against the monstrous system of repression that was imposed upon them by the University Ordinance and other measures. The students form a part of our society and are not strangers living in an insulated compartment. They are also naturally affected by the general

misery, the daily acts of harassment and the injustices that the people of Pakistan as a whole are obliged to suffer. With the ardour so characteristic of youth they have expressed not only their own grievances but the seething resentment of all the people of Pakistan.

I reiterate that the student cannot be segregated from the miseries of the masses nor from the frustration of the intelligentsia. He is a part of the sorrowful society which the wheel of exploitation grinds. The students of Pakistan are the constituent assembly of a franchiseless population of 120 million people.

But, like his other colleagues, the Home Secretary functions under limitations hostile to truth. He has to see the picture with coloured glasses. How can he assert that the people have arisen in a mighty spontaneous wave because they are sick of the regime, that it is their expression of protest against bondage? How could his analysis reveal that the upsurge from end to end has not been generated by a few political speeches but that it is a manifestation of the people's cumulative resentment at the denial of their wants; that it is an indictment of the people against the regime's failures, as unpremeditated and spontaneous as in other countries where personal dictatorship has held sway? *A priori*, the Home Secretary had to submit a report divorced from realities. That is why I have been framed and brought before your Lordships bound under the Defence of Pakistan Rules allegedly for acts against the security of my beloved country, the homeland I defended against foreign aggression so resolutely as to win the abiding acclaim of our people.

By agreeing to amend the University Ordinance, by proposing to take belated steps against corruption, the Government has admitted that genuine hardships of the people were responsible for the disturbances. How can a contented people of an Islamic civilisation mellowed by the antiquity of Harappa and Moen-jo-Daro rise suddenly in unison sparked by a few speeches and, in the

words of Governor Musa, come to the verge of bringing down with one blow his invincible Government?

This abnormal situation would not have arisen if the conditions were normal. This has been recognised by the regime in its quest to bring back a semblance of normalcy by acquiescing in some of the just demands of the students in respect of the notorious University Ordinance. Now under the compulsion of events, the Government has partly relented. Not a single voice has been heard against the proposed amendments in the Ordinance. But this does not mean that a universally sought relief should be granted only in the face of a threat. If these measures were self-evidently necessary, what was the need to withhold them all these years and cause so much bitterness in the student community? The present upheaval might never have taken place if repressive laws had not been brought on the Statute Book in the first place. It is nothing short of a national tragedy that so much rancour was needed to force the changes. Neither intelligence nor imagination were required to detect the barbarism in the Ordinance. Nowhere in the world, not even in Hitler's Third Reich, have university degrees been forfeited.

Alas, it had to take the present crisis, involving the death of innocent young students, for elementary wisdom to dawn on the authorities after ten years of blind folly.

These are the wrongs and not my speeches that have alienated the people.

What logic is needed to realise that the confiscation of a degree, which is knowledge, is inalienable and that to withdraw it is like committing a dacoity on the mind of a citizen? The Government should hold itself responsible and not others for the shame and ridicule it has brought to its name in a long trail of blunders.

As in the case of students, so also with the rest of the population, miseries have mounted on account of the Government being insensitive to the needs of the people. This Government cannot be credited with making a single concession to the people's legitimate demands without duress.

Having neglected the interest of the people, and lost their confidence, the regime finds itself discredited. That is why the people are up in arms.

It is not possible for me to spread hatred against the regime when the hatred of the people has reached an apogee. Everywhere unrest is rampant, democracy is denied and economic conditions are rapidly deteriorating.

Supine compromises on the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir have led to the statement of the British Foreign Secretary made in Rawalpindi on November 28 last year. An equally vacillating position on the Farrakka barrage has emboldened India to proclaim that the Ganges is an Indian river. Law and order have broken down, crime abounds and the cup of suffering is full.

These, my Lords, are some of the symptoms of the crisis which should have formed a part of the Home Secretary's note to his Governor.

If the Home Secretary wanted to salvage the sinking prestige of the Government, he should not have recommended a sweep of arbitrary arrests but should have advised his masters to put an end to loot, to stop in the name of God the marauding plunder of the ruling class, to cease adding new abuses to the armada which plies through the length and breadth of the province in their names, to build no more factories and fortunes with the blood and sweat of the common man and to issue no more licences to themselves and their favourites. If the country is on fire, the Government's own misdeeds have ignited it.

It is the right of every citizen to criticise the shortcomings of the Government ruling the country or the system under which he lives. This is a fundamental political right, the exercise of which is the sign of a free people, and the denial of which the mark of a servile nation.

It is a legitimate function of a political party to advocate changes, even changes of a fundamental nature, even changes of the Constitution, even changes in the social system, even changes in the economy. No political activity is possible if criticism is not allowed. Criticism is a legitimate function of the individual and of a political party.

The Government's attitude is to interpret any criticism that hits the mark as an infringement of the Defence of Pakistan Rules. The country is not endangered by criticism of evils such as corruption and oppressive laws. Public tranquility has been disturbed by repression and not by criticism. The repressive laws are the disturbers of civil peace.

Within the enormous capacity of such an extraordinary law as the Defence of Pakistan Rules, applied in circumstances where it is not applicable, there being no foreign aggressor at the door, almost any word or report displeasing to official ears can be branded as an incitement to violence.

The preservation of public tranquility is a fine excuse. In the situation that has grown in the ten years of progressive deterioration, public tranquility simply does not exist. Peace has been disturbed more often by the deeds of violence of the agents of authority than by the self-defensive reflexes of the people. To blame it on persons like myself who desire to see the root causes removed is sheer perversity.

I am a believer of orderly government, of decent standards of conduct, of social and economic justice, of commonsense, of the happiness of the people that comes from the full enjoyment of human rights. I know the causes of violence. Discontent is one of them. When the people are contented there will be no public violence on a large scale.

There are very few nations in the world that are so patient, so capable of bearing suffering and injustice, as the people of Pakistan. For ten long years they have endured this regime.

But it must also be said that conditions were not so bad in the beginning of the ten years and there shone a ray of hope, but as the years progressed the conditions became worse and the hope disappeared.

The people have turned against the regime. That is the objective situation. The question of violence and nonviolence does not enter into it at all. Very often a crowd's reaction to police brutality will be violence.

Often recently, the people have been goaded to the extreme. Their children have been beaten up by the police, have been shot at, have been killed. These are facts. Students have been martyred. I did not incite the police to kill students.

The Government is very sensitive about my influence over students. Perhaps, the young people turned towards me because I understand their problems and sympathise with them. I do not consider that to be horribly wrong.

Anyway; they are part and parcel of our population. They are the flower of our nation, they are the hope of our future. The Government's answer to their demands has been to close all educational institutions.

It is a strange way of dealing with a problem. Naturally, if schools and colleges are not there, the students will not be there and the future generation in Pakistan will be happily illiterate. If public tranquility can be purchased only at that price, it is not worth having.

I submit that the Government has confessed that there is substance and force in the students' demands. The President himself has spoken on the problem. He has promised to amend the University Ordinance. He has admitted in fact that the Government's repressive action against the students was wrong and that the students had very genuine grievances.

If the students were right about their grievances, my action to support them could not have been wrong either. This is admitted by the President himself by his so-called concessions.

In his Eid-ul-Fitr message to the nation on 22nd December, 1968, President Ayub Khan said:

"We must not allow misunderstandings, misgivings, doubts and suspicions to divide us. Above all, we must learn to respect the feelings and sentiments of others. Disagreement of views must not lead to acrimony or violence."

These noble sentiments would become more admirable if these were put into action. But the Government does the opposite. It taunts, insults and abuses. It sends its hirelings with swords to assault me in a public meeting in Multan and has physical injuries inflicted on me in another public meeting in this city. In broad daylight, with police connivance, it has forcibly stopped me on the national highway to attack me with hatchets, and armed marauders are sent to my village.

Not satisfied with such orgies of violence, Muslim Leaguers of Multan were reprimanded by the Governor of West Pakistan for not dealing with me adequately during my visit to that region.

One individual in that gathering had the temerity to tell the Governor that they did everything that lay in their power short of killing me.

This is a fine way to learn to respect the feelings and sentiments of others or to prevent acrimony and violence over disagreement of views. If this is to be the code of conduct, why then have I been made to suffer for no reason other than my political differences with the regime?

Incompetent rulers do not understand how the mainsprings of history move and therefore attribute their difficulties to the machinations of the person they least like. If the students give trouble, they imagine there must be somebody inciting them.

Young people and students in particular, seem to have, in a given situation, the historic function of expressing the desire for radical change; but the reaction of the rulers is to repress the students in the hope of suppressing the possibility of change.

The Government wants people to believe that all is well and that it is a wonderful state of affairs except for a few agitators and rabble-rousers who are leading the ignorant and illiterate people astray.

The true reasons why I have been persistently harassed by the Government and finally arrested and thrown into prison are two:

- i) The fear that I might take the Tashkent affair to the people of Pakistan for their verdict; and
- ii) The fact that President Ayub Khan believes that I am his most powerful rival for the Presidentship because I enjoy the confidence of the people whereas he does not.

I have been arbitrarily thrown into jail on account of the differences I developed with the regime over the ceasefire and the Tashkent Declaration. My

speeches and the circumstances attending them are not the causes for my detention in jail.

My detention is to prevent my bringing to public knowledge how and why the Tashkent Declaration came about. The Government cannot afford to let the truth be known because if it were, the President would certainly not be elected for a third term no matter what devices he employed.

By confining me in jail and so removing me from the political arena he believes he is ensuring his own continuance in the Presidential office. That is the true reason for my detention and not the trumped up charges in the memorandum of grounds of detention. It is in bad faith that the charges have been made against me.

Serious differences arose between me and the President during and after the 1965 war and subsequently at Tashkent. Before leaving the Government in the unusual circumstances ascribed to my perfectly good health, the President summoned me to his residence on the evening of 16th June, 1966. At first the President was pleasant.

He praised my services to Pakistan in extravagant terms. As a token of his appreciation he wondered if I would accept an ambassadorial assignment "to France or any other place of my choice on specially worked out terms.

I thanked the President for his offer but declined it. I told him that after eight years of service as a Minister in an eventful period, I wanted to return to my lands before deciding upon my future course in public life.

The President thought it to be a good idea and graciously suggested that I should set up a sugar or a jute mill at Larkana. He went on to assure me that the Government would extend every facility for the project.

I again thanked the President for his solicitude and told him that I would still prefer to confine my activities to an occupation which had engaged my family for generations. Thereupon, the President changed his tone.

He reminded me sternly that as a young man born with a silver spoon in my mouth, I had not suffered the buffets of life to know what they meant. For this reason he said that he thought it necessary to candidly warn me that there will be trouble if, on my return to Pakistan, I dabbled in politics.

To make things perfectly clear, he proceeded to tell me that I should remember that if I incurred his enmity, he would follow me to the grave.

Refusing to submit to intimidation, I told the President politely that my decision to take part in politics would be influenced by national interest and not by threats.

On getting this unambiguous reply, the President reverted to his initial attitude and suggested that there was no hurry to thrash out all matters in one day. He ended the conversation by saying that these matters would be discussed on my return from Europe.

A number of our Ambassadors in Europe made sedulous efforts to prevail upon me to accept the President's terms. According to them, I was young enough to forget politics until the post-Ayub period.

Their advice took many shapes. Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan, our Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and the President's brother-in-law, was the most persistent in his plea for a reconciliation.

On my return in October, 1966, I stopped in Kabul for a few days. There I received a message from Mr. Ayub Awan, Director, Intelligence Bureau, requesting me to dine with him during my stay in Rawalpindi. On my arrival in Peshawar, Mr. Anwar Afridi, D.I.G., Police, met me at the airport to confirm my acceptance of Mr. Awan's invitation. A day after my arrival in Rawalpindi, the late Mr. Altaf Hussain, who was then Minister for Industries and with whom I had been on good terms, came to my hotel to see me for what he called 'a heart to heart talk.' He brought what he thought was "a reasonable proposal" which I should accept. The proposal was that as "a concession", I could remain in active politics provided I avoided one or two sensitive subjects and gave a categorical undertaking that I would not personally contest the Presidential election in 1970. I told Mr. Altaf Hussain that the elections were far away and that I could not give him an assurance of the nature sought by him.

The same evening during his dinner, Mr. Awan put forward a number of intriguing proposals. I was advised to continue playing a prominent part in the Pakistan Muslim League with freedom to make constructive public speeches on foreign affairs but excluding the war and Tashkent. According to him the arrangement would be like that of being an unofficial adviser to the President. It would involve my going to some countries on special assignments as the President's emissary. I declined the proposals of the D.I.B. Before leaving Mr. Awan warned me to beware of consequences.

In November, 1966, whilst the President was on a state visit to England, on my return from a visit to Dacca, I stopped in Lahore. Mr. Akhtar Ayub, the President's eldest son, called on me in my hotel twice on the same day and pleaded for a rapprochement. He informed me that Governor Musa was anxious to invite me for this purpose and had asked him to ascertain from me if I would accept his invitation before extending it formally. I told Mr. Akhtar Ayub to tell Governor Musa that he and I had worked together for eight years and that there was no need to stand on ceremony.

When I met Governor Musa, after he had advised me to patch up with the President on his return, he requested me to avoid speaking on Tashkent. To paraphrase his words the Governor said that it was all a matter of the past and so what was the point of speaking on this touchy subject? After all the President was human; how was he going to take this sort of thing? I told Mr. Musa that I had worked long enough with the President to know perfectly well how he handled people who had incurred his displeasure, but this notwithstanding, there were certain matters which simply could not be concealed from the nation, and Tashkent happened to be one of them.

The next initiative came again from Mr. Akhtar Ayub and his younger brother, Tahir Ayub, on or about the 6th of April, 1967, when they came to my house in Karachi to make another attempt for a compromise. When I chided them for speaking without authority, they stated emphatically that they would not have dared to come to my house and spoken on the subject without their father's approval.

Mr. Rizvi, the present D.I.B, followed suit with yet another approach in May, 1967, when he called on me at Karachi to impress on me the need for the President to have another term in 1970. A month later, he pressed the point further when he met me again in Lahore a day before I addressed a mammoth public meeting in Gol Bagh, which the Government arranged to disrupt violently a few minutes after I began my speech.

The threads were once more picked up by Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan, the Ambassador in Germany, when in August, 1967, I visited Bonn. A year later, in May, 1968, Mr. Rizvi met me again at my residence in Karachi for the purpose Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan had pursued earlier in the summer of 1966 and 1967 and which he tenaciously continued to harp upon when he saw me again in Bonn in August, 1968.

All the initiatives persistently taken by the Government in the last two and a half years have centred on a determined attempt to:

- i) Restrain me from making a political issue of the ceasefire and the Tashkent Declaration; and
- ii) Get a categorical assurance from me that I would not contest the Presidential elections in 1970.

As it became increasingly evident that I would not succumb, the intensity of the victimisation rose correspondingly to a point where it has become savage. The only EBD Oed politician to be made a Minister is from my district. He has been given Home Affairs to bring me to heel.

Rather than cataloguing every detail of the way I have been hounded, for the convenience of the Court, I shall confine myself only to the salient forms of victimisation employed against me by the regime:

- a) Violent physical attacks on my person;
- b) Efforts to deprive me and my family of our property rights;
- c) Involvement in false cases and interference with the administration of justice in their determination;
- d) Personal harassment by other means;
- e) Interference in my political activities and victimisation of my political supporters;
- f) Harassment of my friends, family members and employees;
- g) Maltreatment in jail even while in the Court's custody.

I now proceed to state a few instances under the categories mentioned above.

(a-i) While addressing the Gol Bagh meeting in June, 1967, electric wires were severed and simultaneously the ground was flooded with water in order to give electric shocks to the people assembled there. Flower pots and brickbats were thrown from different directions and particularly from behind the dias. Two

brick bats injured me in the head and a flower pot hit me on my left shoulder. While I was trying to leave the place some hired goondas pushed me towards a barbed wire fencing which caused me more injuries. While all this was happening, no attempt was made by the authorities to restore order. On the contrary, the police force, heavily augmented before the meeting started, suddenly vanished.

(a-ii) I was given an unprecedented reception when, after the formation of the Pakistan People's Party, I visited Multan in January, 1968. The Government was determined to sabotage the success of my mission in Multan Division. It left no stone unturned to achieve this nefarious design. Stalwarts of the Muslim League were mobilised and hooligans hired to create trouble. I was scheduled to address a select gathering of the citizens of Multan at the Shezan Hotel. Under police protection the goondas who had gathered there under orders to disrupt the meeting threw brickbats and stones for well over thirty minutes. They were armed with daggers and pistols. Extensive damage was caused to the hotel. The police did not interfere until the large crowd which had gathered to welcome me intervened to drive away the goondas.

(a-iii) On the following day I was scheduled to address the Khanewal Bar Association. Along with my supporters I left Multan in the morning. On my way at Qadirpur Rawan about 25 hired goondas forcibly stopped our motorcade. They were armed with hatchets and knives. They brandished their weapons at me in a menacing manner. They slit open the tyres of four or five of our cars. On being compelled to get out of my car I saw a police inspector in the company of a number of constables standing nearby. They took no steps to check the armed marauders. After reprimanding them for taking no action to protect us against the assault I changed my car and took a circuitous route and reached Khanewal with considerable difficulty.

(a-iv) On the third day I was to address a public meeting at Qasim Bagh, which the Government was resolved to disrupt. Accordingly, the minions and servants of the Government were planted at different places to disrupt the meeting which was one of the largest in the history of Multan. One contingent had been placed to block the entrance to the Fort, the venue of the meeting. On discovering this my supporters took me to the stage through a breach in the ramparts. When the hirelings at the entrance learnt that I had succeeded in reaching the stage, they began to beat the crowd with lathis. The crowd thwarted their efforts and they were made to flee. After I had spoken for a few minutes another batch planted in the midst of the crowd started beating the people with hockey sticks and *dandas* in order to disperse them. When this effort also failed, a third batch led by a notorious goonda of Multan, planted close to the stage, started brandishing swords, daggers and knives to terrify the people. Swinging the swords, they advanced towards me step by step. Two of them who came close to me hurled abuses at me and shouted that my end was near and that I would not leave the place alive. I was saved by a part of the mammoth crowd which attacked them from behind when they were a few yards from me. In the *melee* a few hirelings, as well as some of the crowd assembled, sustained serious injuries. The top echelons of the administration consisting of the D.I.G., D.C., S.P, and others watched this pandemonium from a vantage point in the Fort but did nothing to intervene. After the people had successfully dealt with the disruptionists the police arrived on the scene to remove only the injured hirelings who were promptly admitted to a hospital. Those injured from among the crowd were neither assisted by the police nor given admission to hospital. (a-v) About eight months ago some strangers were found loitering about in my village. Having aroused suspicion some of the villagers kept a watch on them and followed them to a tea shop. When they spread out a plan of my house on the table, the persons who had followed them pounced on them and seized the plan together with grenades and pistols which were found on their person. They were taken to the police station where they were handed over along with all the seized material. Apparently on instructions from his superiors the Sub-Inspector

released the persons. The incident appeared in the newspaper 'Comment' under banner headlines. It has not so far been contradicted.

(b-i) Large agricultural holdings were surrendered by me and my family under Land Reforms but, on the false application of certain people goaded by the Home Minister to harass me, a number of enquiries have been held with the object of dispossessing my minor children of their agricultural property. Three Deputy Collectors of Larkana have conducted four different enquiries in the same matter and found the allegations to be without foundation. Despite their findings the Deputy Commissioner, Larkana, and Commissioner, Khairpur, have repeatedly insisted upon fresh enquiries pertaining to our property and these have been conducted by revenue courts in which lawyers have appeared, statements recorded, witnesses examined and documents scrutinised. Copies of the court's findings have been refused to us. Not only that, the Anticorruption Department has been ordered to conduct separate enquiries into the same matter, not on the basis of any F.I.R, filed by any allegedly aggrieved person but upon an F.I.R, filed in Larkana by an Inspector of Police from Hyderabad. The Home Minister has repeatedly made public pronouncements stating that I have usurped lands of poor tenants, which is contrary to the facts as confirmed by the findings of the revenue courts and the orders of the Land Reforms authorities. The charge has been made with the dual purpose of maligning me and interfering with the administration of justice.

(b-ii) On April, 1968, a score of Government officials from Lahore and Hyderabad were deputed to camp at Larkana and to seize all documents and records relating to the properties of my entire family, including my uncles and cousins, with the sole purpose of devising ways and means to deprive us of our properties.

(c-i) Until the Government removed the restrictions on the movement of rice in October, 1968, the policy was that after fulfilling its procurement target the

Government issued permits for the sale of rice. Except on one or two stray occasions when the Government was in emergent need, our rice crop of 1967 was neither being procured nor released for sale by permit. This being our main source of income, we were threatened with acute financial hardship until, as a matter of general policy, the Government withdrew restrictions on the movement of rice in October, 1968.

(c-ii) The Home Department of the Government of West Pakistan took *ex parte* action to rescind notifications exempting me from licences for holding arms. In pursuance of this action, the Home Secretary ordered the confiscation of all my weapons, including those covered by licences and the award of Hilal-i-Pakistan, as also some decorative weapons and weapons of antiquarian value outside the scope of the Arms Ordinance. The High Court at Karachi declared all these actions of the Government to be without lawful authority. As held by the Hon'ble Court, illegal orders amounting to virtual confiscation of the arms, were passed by the Home Secretariat. Even during the pendency of the proceedings before the High Court, attempts were made by way of an application supported by an affidavit of the Home Secretary to obtain the vacation of order of *status quo* so that my arms could be seized by the Government prior to the decision by the Hon'ble Court. Not only that but even after the order of *status quo* by the High Court, D.S.P. Qadri, incharge of the tractors case, came to my residence and had the temerity to order that I hand over all the weapons to him.

(c-iii) The Government decided to involve me in cases one after the other so as to bring about my submission and, at the same time, to keep me so occupied with the defence and pursuit of these cases that I would not be able to devote my attention to political affairs claiming priority in the country. The institution of the notorious Tractor Case is also a relevant fact exposing the *mala fides* of the Government's dealings with me. Certain novel features of this case which have already received scrutiny and observation by the High Court at Karachi should leave no doubt whatsoever that the Government will go to

extremes to secure my political annihilation. The allegations branding me as a common cheat and abettor of forgeries relate to the period when my humble services to the nation were appreciated in the form of the conferment upon me of the high civil award of Hilal-i-Pakistan and my efforts during and after the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 were appreciated by the nation, including President Ayub Khan and the Chief Justice of Pakistan. In this case the Government servants who turned approvers for the state were not only continued in service but given promotions. Although the case was instituted in August, 1967, on the basis of a direct complaint to the Governor of West Pakistan by a total stranger, it is significant that the charge sheet in this case was presented only on 1st November, 1968. The court had been pleased to fix the first hearing on 15th November when I was required by law to be present but was prevented by my arrest on 13th November. Thereafter, in spite of a warrant issued by the court for my production on 14th December, no steps were taken by the Government to comply with the order of the court. On the contrary, this warrant was deliberately disobeyed by the Superintendent of Jail, Sahiwal.

(c-iv) In the charge sheet, I was described as an absconder although my whereabouts were well known and widely publicised. In addition to the deliberate disobedience of the production warrants, adjournments are being sought by the Government on frivolous grounds. At one hearing an application was moved by the police to transfer the case from Sukkur to Larkana on the ground that all the accused and witnesses belonged to Larkana.

Originally an F.I.R, was lodged in August, 1967 but certain accused persons were granted bail before arrest. To frustrate this order, a second F.I.R, was filed giving the same facts and some of the accused persons were arrested, During confinement they were asked to make false confessions to involve me. At least two Government servants have been made approvers, and one of the approvers has been given a promotion. To give your Lordships an idea of the merits of this case I would like to state that in August, 1968, while in Lahore I

received a message from the D.I.B., Mr. Rizvi that if I toned down my criticism of the Government, this and other cases would be withdrawn.

(c-v) After the registration of the Tractors Case, the Home Minister, West Pakistan, declared at a press conference at Karachi in December, 1967, that there was a "cast-iron case" against me Subsequently, in early 1968, in a speech at Dadu, he said that I will have to prove my innocence. On various occasions during the investigation he has made false and damaging statements presupposing my guilt.

(c-vi) A trust established for education of poor students by contributions raised by my efforts has been taken over by the West Pakistan Auqaf Department and the Home Minister has made some malicious and incorrect statements on the merits of the case during the pendency of my writ petition.

(c-vii) Recently, I have been informed that even during this period to make things "doubly sure," to use the Home Secretary's words, and to indicate the Government's methods of dealing with me I have been involved in another false criminal case in which I am alleged to have abetted a crime under section 307 of the Penal Code (d) & (f) (i). Repeated enquiries by revenue officers of my district on admittedly false and frivolous applications and their refusal even to grant me copies of these proceedings is a matter which is being adjudicated upon by the Hon'ble High Court at Karachi.

(d-i) The manner and the circumstances in which I was summoned by the police at Karachi to appear before them is also relevant and it is noteworthy how this news item was given wide publicity in the controlled press.

(d-ii) Instructions have been issued to officials of my division and district to keep away from me, to neither meet me nor entertain any matter raised by me relating to my public and private functions as a citizen, so much so that a Deputy

Commissioner of Larkana, the only official I met on my initiative since leaving office two and a half years ago was transferred forthwith.

(d-iii) Only a couple of days after the National Assembly of Pakistan passed the bill relating to secrecy of bank accounts, the district authorities demanded from my bankers, access to my accounts. In spite of my protests to the officials, including the Governor of State Bank and the Central Finance Minister, the illegal efforts continued unabated until finally an *ex parte* order was secured from the Sessions Court at Larkana.

(e-i) My cousin, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, M.N.A, and other relations were directed from time to time that if they did not dissociate themselves from me they would suffer serious trouble. Following these threats, a number of false cases have been filed against my cousin and his tenants and servants. Eventually he was detained under D.P.R, on 13th November, 1968, without any grounds. Mushtaq Ali Bhutto, a young nephew of mine, has been persistently troubled by the authorities and was detained under Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance in November, 1968.

(e-ii) Since my departure from the Government over a hundred persons connected with us have been troubled, detained and beaten in jails.

(e-iii) Due to his personal friendship with me Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, M.N.A, has been involved in a number of criminal cases, including a dacoity case the subject matter of which was forcible lifting from his own lands a few maunds of the tenants' share of the cotton crop. Some time ago, until released by the Sessions Court, he was illegally confined by the authorities in Multan. So persistently he has been pursued that on a previous occasion the Hon'ble High Court while granting him bail before arrest in another matter observed that bail granted to him shall hold good for all cases in which he is wanted. He has been repeatedly told by the authorities and by his party leaders that his persecution

would immediately stop and that he would be abundantly rewarded if only he ended his friendship with me. His detention under Defence of Pakistan Rules on November 13, 1968, has already been declared by this Hon'ble Court to have been without lawful authority.

(e-iv) Another member of the National Assembly from Sind was harassed for his friendship with me until it was thought that he had mended his ways. He was warned to keep away from me to avoid trouble in the future.

(e-v) Similarly a number of members of the Provincial Assembly from Sind, including influential leaders from that region, have been clearly warned to have nothing to do with me. Some of them are kept under perpetual surveillance and on occasions they have come under a cloud for meeting me socially.

(e-vi) It is not possible to recount each and every detail of the way in which my political supporters and friends have been harassed and victimised. The general attitude of the Government in this regard has become a matter of public knowledge. To give only an idea to this Hon'ble Court a few instances are narrated. (e-vii) When the Pakistan People's Party, was being formed an attempt was made to set fire to the site where the stage was constructed for the Conference. This was at 4K Gulberg, Lahore.

(e-viii) I have separately submitted the attempts made by the Government to disrupt my meetings at Lahore and Multan. Indeed, wherever I have spoken impediments have been placed by the Government. Permission for loudspeakers has been refused, prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C, have been indiscriminately applied and provisions of Section 144 Cr. P.C, misused. The whole administration has been geared to prevent me from reaching the people.

(e-ix) In Dera Ismail Khan, a Minister of the Government was deputed to use violence and break Section 144 to prevent my visit from being successful.

False press notes have been issued by the Government and the entire information media has been geared to give false accounts of my political activities and objectives. In violation of the traditions of the civil service, deputy commissioners and other officials have made political and partisan comments in the press against me directly and by innuendo. The Governor of West Pakistan has indulged in abusive and vitriolic language against me. (e-x) On my arrival in Rawalpindi by car from Sherpao on 7th November, 1968, I was greeted on the road by a large crowd of students of the Polytechnic, a couple of miles ahead of their Institution because the police had closed the highways leading to it. When I arrived at the Hotel Intercontinental I found the whole Mall area thick with tear gas smoke. I was told that a number of students who, having come out of the Gordon College in a procession to protest against the seizure of their purchases at Landi Kotal, had gathered in the lawns of the Hotel Intercontinental, from where, without any provocation, they were suddenly and mercilessly beaten up and chased away. About one-and-a-half hours after my arrival in the hotel, I received a telephone call from the Polytechnic informing me that the police had opened fire there resulting in the death of a student, Abdul Hamid. I was told that the students were insisting on taking the body in a procession to the President's House and that they wanted me to lead the procession. I advised the students to do nothing that might aggravate the situation. I fervently appealed to them to restrain their feelings and not to exacerbate the tension. I tried to send some of my partymen to the Polytechnic Institute to explain to them the need for discipline in a crisis created by the Government. They were unable to meet the students because the institution was sealed off by the police. On 8th November I left Rawalpindi by car at about 3.00 p.m, for Pindi Gheb to offer condolences to the family of Abdul Hamid. Mr. Khurshid Hassan Meer, Advocate, the Chairman of People's Party of Rawalpindi District, accompanied me. The following morning he was arrested at Rawalpindi. When he was granted bail by the Sessions Judge which order was confirmed by the High Court later, he was again detained on the 10th of November under an order rescinded during the hearing of his writ

petition. This briefly indicates the Government's attitude towards my party and my partymen.

(f-i) A member of the Principles Committee of my party, Dr. Mubashir Hasan, was arrested on the ground that he was "creating disaffection against the Government." Two influential members of the National Assembly, one of whom is a relative and the other a friend, were arrested merely because they were seen in the Gordon College, Rawalpindi. In this fashion, a sweep of arbitrary arrests was made on 13th of November and subsequently.

(f-ii) I was arrested in the early hours of November 13th at Lahore from the house of Dr. Mubashir Hasan, a member of the Principles Committee of Pakistan People's Party, with whom I and Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto were staying. A few minutes after my arrest Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Dr. Mubashir Hasan were arrested and Begum Mubashir was put under house arrest. I was taken to Mianwali Jail where I arrived at about 7 a.m. After a thorough search of my person and belongings, my papers and books were confiscated although by law I was entitled to keep them.

(g-i) I was confined in an old cell full of rats and mosquitoes, the charpoy was tied to a chain There was an adjoining little room meant for toilet purposes. But it was so dirty that it was repulsive to enter it. The food consisted of two chappaties made of red wheat with dal which had stones in it or two tiny pieces of meat. A strong light shone for 24 hours throughout my stay there making sleep at night extremely difficult.

(g-ii) I was kept in solitary confinement. When I learnt that the High Court had granted my lawyers permission to meet me I immediately asked for some paper to enable me to make notes for my meeting with them. Despite my repeated request writing paper was not given to me until the afternoon of the 18th November.

(g-iii) My letters and telegrams were not delivered to me. Except for the *Pakistan Times* and *Mashriq* I was not provided with any other newspapers. As the Hon'ble High Court ordered that all detenus should be kept in one jail, on the evening of 18th November I was taken to Sahiwal where I arrived in the early hours of 19th November.

(g-iv) Makeshift arrangements were made at Sahiwal for my detention where I continued to be kept in solitary confinement. Here instead of the rats the room was full of bats and, to avoid them, I had to sleep with a towel on my face. The mosquitoes and flies were in legion. The bathroom was separate from the cell and was shared with others. The practice in jail is to provide Class I and II detenus with a convict for personal service. The convict provided to me was told that he would be skinned alive if he spoke to me.

(g-v) Unlike at Mianwali, this man was not even provided with a kitchen knife to prepare my meals. Again unlike Mianwali, where my cell was locked about 8.00 in the evening, the food was as inedible and insufficient as at Mianwali. I showed the two tiny pieces of meat constituting my meal to Sheikh Rashid, Advocate, when under orders of the High Court he interviewed me.

(g-vi) Contrary to law, I was not permitted the use of a radio or to make private arrangements for my meals. I addressed about five or six applications to the authorities protesting against the illegal conditions of my detention which were neither controverted nor was any action taken on them. I pointed out in these applications that as Class I detenu, by law I was entitled to certain facilities which were being deliberately and maliciously denied to me.

(g-vii) In spite of the fact that my cousin and friends were in the same jail, we were not permitted to meet each other. Not only that, we were not even permitted to exchange reading material. None of the other inmates were

permitted to meet or see me. Virtually the whole place was vacated when I had to leave my ward to meet my lawyers in the office of Superintendent.

My mail was tampered with and important letters not delivered to me. The only letters I received were from my children, letters from the general public and Eid greetings.

(g-viii) In spite of the above illegalities the Government issued a false press note stating that I was well looked after and that I had no complaints. I protested in writing against this false press note as soon as I read it and reiterated my earlier complaints that I was being kept in solitary confinement and denied other facilities in violation of law.

(g-ix) When the court graciously took cognizance of my complaints, a false affidavit was filed by a highly responsible Government official. It was also admitted by the Superintendent of Sahiwal Jail before this Hon'ble Court that under orders from his superiors I was not allowed to meet any one.

This is the manner in which I have been pursued by the Government. I was a minister of the Central Government for eight years and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan during the time of war. My services to the country won the appreciation of friends and the envy of our opponents.

The distinguished Bertrand Russell, whose whole life has been a glorious struggle against oppression said in a letter to the *Economist* of 3rd September 1966, under the caption *Ayub's "Rival"*: Your attack on Mr. Bhutto (August 20, 1966) should be placed in context of Bhutto's sin in Western eyes is that he was an important figure in conceiving an independent policy for Pakistan, placing it in the context of Afro-Asia and outside the rank of countries which are dominated by the United States.

"The fate of national leaders who respond to the needs of their people is increasingly clear unless they find the means to resist the pressures applied to them, in which case journals such as the *Economist* attach unpleasant labels to them. Mr. Bhutto is a national leader of his country in the tradition of Jinnah, and the storm of prolonged applause which he receives is not restricted to London. There are many who wish him well and who admire his role in working for an independent policy for his country consonant with the social aspirations of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

President Ahmad Soekarno who rendered unparalleled assistance to Pakistan, while conferring the Order of the Republic of Indonesia at a ceremony in the Merdeka Palace in Jakarta on the 20th of April, 1966, said that it was an honour for him to confer the Order on me in recognition of my "great services to the friendship of Indonesia and Pakistan." He concluded by saying that I was "a great freedom-fighter and great worker for Afro-Asian solidarity."

In April, 1965, President Mikoyan of the Soviet Union, a great power that was hostile to Pakistan until I went to Moscow in 1960 to conclude an agreement with that country, praised my services to Pakistan at a meeting in the Kremlin, in the presence of the Soviet and Pakistan delegations. He told President Ayub Khan that "Mr. Bhutto is a remarkably intelligent person" and that my "youth and energy were a tremendous source of strength to President Ayub Khan and to Pakistan." President Mikoyan congratulated President Ayub Khan for inclusion in his Cabinet a Minister of my 'calibre.'

At the age of 34 in August. 1964, the high order of Hilal-i-Pakistan was conferred upon me. While conferring the award in the presence of Muslim League leaders assembled at the President's Guest House at Rawalpindi President Ayub Khan advised the youth of Pakistan to emulate me.

I mention this in passing, not in vainglory; but only to show how wrong world leaders and President Ayub Khan have been about my place in Pakistan. In the judgement of the regime, my place is in the cell of a prison which the Government of West Pakistan's own press note of December 13 1968, described as a jail reserved for notorious and habitual criminals. According to the regime's evaluation my place is there, in that worst of all jails in West Pakistan, to languish there in solitary confinement, denied the ordinary facilities permitted by law.

My Lords, in the year 399, before the Christian era, Athenian rulers condemned a philosopher to death for having led astray the youth of the city. Socrates was given hemlock to drink.

And that is probably why the Home Secretary has stated in his note to the Governor:

"Mr. Z. A. Bhutto has chosen to be on the warpath. For the furtherance of his vindictive designs against the present regime, he has been publicly talking of violence, bloodshed and revenge."

How ironic is this statement?

Since my departure from Government, I have been engaged in a struggle for survival. My family has been made to live like outcasts. The ostracism is so complete that even doctors, summoned to attend on my minor children, have been interrogated.

If foreign envoys meet me, demarches are addressed to their Governments. The lawyers engaged to defend me are threatened. Friends have been warned to keep away and servants intimidated to become informers. The secret police dogs every footstep of ours. Officials have been encouraged to create trouble for us and warned against attending even to our routine needs as ordinary citizens. The worst type of subordinates have been posted in our Tehsils

to cause day-to-day harassments and to keep the doors of the administration barred in our face.

Independent of the high offices of state held by me and the honours bestowed on me, in my own right I was entitled to respect and consideration. For generations, my family has rendered distinguished services to Sind, undivided India, and after partition to Pakistan. This is a matter of history and not a leaf out of the fairytales now being written as district gazetteers.

I cannot be said to be on the warpath when false criminal cases are fabricated and the regime seeks to degrade me by summons to police stations by petty officials. This is not the way we are to "learn to respect the feelings and sentiments of others" to quote President Ayub Khan. Indeed, throughout the month of September I was literally pestered by the police. The month of September, therefore, is significant for more reasons than my speech at Hyderabad.

When I spoke at Hyderabad on September 21, under the shadow of intense persecution and humiliating affronts, my declaration to speak on Tashkent at Lahore on an appropriate occasion and my decision about the elections, unnerved the Government. Soon after, I had spoken I was unexpectedly contacted by the Home Secretary, Mr. Ayub Awan, through a mutual friend who told me that Mr. Awan wanted to meet me urgently. When we met the same evening at the Sind Club, Mr. Awan wanted to ascertain finally from me personally if my announcement at Hyderabad was an irrevocable decision. Thus, neither my tour of the Peshawar region nor my remarks twisted and torn out of context are the reasons for my arrest.

The Government has put me in jail because of the elections after it was convinced that it could not succeed in making me relent on my political obligations. I had to be removed from the scene because at Hyderabad, I

announced my decision about the elections. Once it was ascertained, a suitable opportunity had to be found for taking action against me. The recent tension, which was deliberately aggravated by the Government came to the Government's rescue as an ideal pretext.

The unscrupulous effort to build a false criminal case against me and to compel Government servants to become approvers was done with the same purpose. The object was to secure my disqualification from taking part in the elections by a conviction in a criminal court. The snag in this scheme developed as it became evident that time was running out. It was felt that a mere registration of a case of this nature might not interfere effectively with any political activities which had to be curbed in view of the coming Presidential elections. So another device had to be quickly found to remove me from the political scene.

In its desperation, the Government seized upon the present crisis not as a cause, but as a pretext to get me incarcerated by using the Defence of Pakistan Rules.

If the Government took exception to my address at the Hyderabad convention and not to my announcement about the elections, it should have ordered my arrest under substantive law on or about September 21 at Hyderabad and not on November 13 at Lahore.

This was not done because there was nothing for the Government to feel disturbed about my remarks other than those relating to the elections and it needed time to find an excuse to frustrate my announced intentions. Otherwise a man, who 'preaches bloodshed, revolution and the forcible overthrow of Government', is not allowed to continue his political mission from one part of the country to another.

I completed my tour of the Peshawar region and was not apprehended earlier because the reason for my arrest related only to my announcement about the elections and had nothing to do with whatever else I said at Hyderabad and in the northern region.

All that the Government did to prevent the call for revolution that I am supposed to have signalled at Hyderabad on September 21 was to send Mr. Ayub Awan, the Home Secretary, to Karachi to verify from me about my decision relating to the elections and not about any call by me for a bloody revolt. Governor Musa was dispatched to Hyderabad not to see whether any barricades had been put up by me in the streets of Hyderabad but to confront me politically with a speech on October 10th in the Darbar Hall. As is customary, Mr. Musa's tirade was picked up by a chorus of Ministers and by the controlled press. Finding that my speech was not legally actionable, the Government chose to deal with it on the political level and maintained this approach for over a month. Not only did the Government not arrest me immediately after I had spoken at Hyderabad but it encouraged a political discussion on my speech. To arrest me nearly two months after I had "preached open rebellion against the Government" does not make any sense unless the reason for my arrest is different. I cannot be arrested for the current disturbances because, as I have endeavoured to show, the present crisis is not of my making. The Government is responsible for it. The disturbances taking place here have spread to East Pakistan. The sudden explosion that has taken place in Pakistan is due to the eruption of the people's pent-up hatred against the regime. I cannot be held accountable for it and for that reason the grounds furnished for my arrest in this connection are not maintainable. None of them can stand the strain of objective scrutiny. There is no connection between my visit to Hyderabad and what followed later in the northern region. It is not enough to say that there was a plan to connect the events. There was no plan. There is no conspiratorial link between my activities in Hyderabad and Peshawar regions. Not only that, there is no plan to create disturbances in the country. The Government is trying to use the present

situation as a pretext for my arrest to influence the course of events leading to the decision recently taken at Dacca to boycott the Presidential elections.

The Government knew that on my return from East Pakistan I intended to make an important declaration about the unity of the opposition parties and about the elections. It was known that I was to leave for East Pakistan shortly before the Ramzan. That is why the Government pressed the present crisis into service and arrested me before I could undertake my important tour of East Pakistan on which depended some crucial decisions of far-reaching political importance to the country. It is clear from the detention order which as a concluding ground for my arrest states *inter alia*, that the action against me is being taken to prevent me from touring other parts of Pakistan.

Revolution does not mean bloodshed but this regime can think of nothing else. On several occasions the opposition has been threatened with bloodshed. Recently in Rawalpindi a Vice-President of Muslim League of Islamabad after wounding a journalist with pistol shots in the presence of the police struts about fearlessly in the streets of the capital of Pakistan. A student leader of Rawalpindi was beaten up by thugs. A banner bearing the 'Kalima' was torn to shreds as if Pakistan was a Jan Sangh state. The President has repeatedly threatened bloodshed In the last Presidential election, on the eve of the ballot, the army was brought out on the streets. In April, 1966, in a speech to Muslim Leaguers at Dacca the President left no doubt that he would employ the "language of weapons" against his opponents. On the 30th of December, 1960, the President made some revealing comments in an address to Muslim Leaguers gathered in Lahore from all parts of West Pakistan. In covering the political spectrum, the President told his votaries:

"Those who want to disrupt this system must realise that if it goes there will be civil war in the country."

A clearer call to arms has not been made by a Head of State. This clearly amounts to inciting cohorts to follow the example of the Islamabad Vice-President of their party. This threat of civil war has not been made in a vacuum. It has roots in the regime's psychosis and its deeds spread over ten years. We know that henchmen are being armed and that other preparations are also being made for the purpose. Is the regime's glorious decade to be summed up in a tragic fratricidal war? Is the bitter harvest of the "era of development" to end in another Spain or Nigeria? Was it to be the purpose of Pakistan that Muslim should kill Muslim and to repeat a Karbala in the twentieth century? If this is not so, why is the regime issuing a clarion call to arms? A civil war asunders a people. After thirty years, Spain is still cleaning the blood stains of civil war and Nigeria has turned into a nightmare. In a revolution a whole people unitedly rise against tyranny. In a civil war, people turn against each other and the agony lasts for ever. The President can use naked force and threaten us but we are not permitted even to warn the people against this.

On the one hand, the regime threatens civil war and, on the other, it reminds the people of "Unity, Faith and Discipline." The present crisis has made the Government more conscious of the memory of the Quaid. In another message to the nation on December 25th, 1968, President Ayub Khan said:

"The Quaid-i-Azam's motto of Unity, Faith and Discipline is of abiding relevance. Those who are engaged in politics must subordinate their thoughts and conduct to this motto."

For the philosophy of the Founder of Pakistan to be popularly understood, it is relevant to enquire in what context is President Ayub Khan preaching "Unity, Faith and Discipline" to the politicians? Nobody engaged in the present movement is against Islam. There is no dispute over Faith. There is, nevertheless, a sharp difference between the people and the regime over the meaning of Unity and Discipline. There is the unity of a free people who unite to

protect their freedom. There is the unity of a people who struggle for freedom and ideals. People unite against external aggression and internal despotism. But there is another kind of unity also. The ancient Romans called it "Pax Romana." The British sought to maintain it for their "Raj." This is the unity imposed by foreign domination or by internal dictatorship. From legendary times slaves have united to become free and free men have united in the defence of freedom. People unite willingly for freedom and not for exploitation: for equality, not for domination. Little wonder that the Muslims of the subcontinent displayed a magnificent unity against the domination of the British and the exploitation of the Congress. They united for Pakistan, that is, for freedom and equality. Muslims from all parts of the subcontinent joined in the common struggle, not because the Muslims of Hindu India were to become a part of Pakistan, but because the struggle meant freedom, irrespective of the consequences. That was the concept of Unity the Founder of Pakistan preached to the Muslims of the subcontinent: Is the President's appeal for Unity addressed to a free people struggling for an ideal? Is it for self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir or for joint-defence? Unity cannot be demanded against the Farrakka Barrage because the Government is negotiating with India in spite of India's proclamation that the Ganges is an Indian river. Are the people being asked to unite against adult franchise and fundamental rights to defend the emergency laws or to expand the economic empire of the 20 or so families with the sweat of their united labour? In the same spirit is the appeal for Discipline addressed to a free people? Dictatorship is its own discipline. Section 144, the Defence of Pakistan Rules, the Security laws and the Criminal Law Amendment Act provide a totalogical basis for discipline. Is the appeal for Discipline to be that of the graveyard, a silent acquiescence in the denial of rights, a servile obedience to the regime's personal mandate?

The Unity, Faith and Discipline of Mahomed Ali Jinnah stood as pillars of a free society, on the strength of a voluntary consent of the people. The Founder of Pakistan pledged to Muslim India a Pakistan that would have a Constitution and

a Government chosen by the people. Are the politicians being advised to heed the message of the torchbearer of our freedom in the spirit of democracy or is the Unity and Discipline to be cracked out of a slave trader's whip?

My Lords, if you look behind the curtain of unbridled ambition, the lust for power and the greed for wealth, you will discover that the sickening motives for my arrest lie in the regime's dread of the people. Now, while the people of Pakistan resent my arrest and have unmistakably shown how they feel about it, this regime and the enemies of Pakistan jointly rejoice at my removal from the political scene.

Despite the harrowing experiences. I have not been on the warpath. I have not yet spoken on the saga of the ceasefire or the Tashkent Declaration. My struggle is for a national renaissance. I want to hold high the banner of the Quaid and Iqbal to show to the world that this Islamic state of 120,000,000 gallant people can rise to the pinnacles of glory and translate into reality the ideal of free and equal men with which Islam lit the torch of civilisation. I want that light of justice to shine again. I want our people to march forward to progress as brothers in arms sharing in the glory of equal participation.

In the fullness of time, the wheel of fortune will turn and in the revolution of this turn a better tomorrow will dawn.

The issues that confront Pakistan reach beyond the limitations of time and space. They come once in an epoch to make or mar, they wade across the horizons of the ugly moment and give the future a beautiful image, a future in which Pakistan is a formidable fortress of the *millat* of Islam, serving oppressed mankind everywhere, never relenting until it has liquidated the last vestige of aggression in Kashmir and liberated Baitul-Muqaddas.

The above statements are based upon my own belief, knowledge and recollection which I verily believe to be true and correct and also upon

information, material and advice given to me by those permitted by this Hon'ble Court to assist me in the preparation of this affidavit and I verily believe that the said information, material and advice so given are true and correct.

Lift the Emergency
Statement in High Court, Lahore,
February 7, 1969

The situation has undergone a profound change since my writ petition was filed in this honourable Court, and most significantly in the last few days. I cannot forsake my duty to the people of Pakistan. I must do everything in my power to prevent the impending disaster. The opposition must not be divided, it must not be intimidated, it must not let itself be split into classes.

It must not be allowed that it should be taken to the conference table under the shadow of the Defence of Pakistan Rules. Whatever the consequences, the right of the people must prevail, their struggle must culminate in a genuine victory. I am prepared to lay down my life for the sake of this ideal, to join the ranks of those who have given their blood for the cause of the people.

The leadership of Pakistan must think of the morrow. In the name of the Pakistan People's Party I give a solemn pledge to the people of Pakistan that my party will strive ceaselessly for the construction of a great and glorious future for our beloved homeland. This is my commitment to history.

How the great problem facing us today will be resolved cannot be forecast with precision. The problem cannot even be approached until the Defence of Pakistan Rules, which envelop it as in a cloud, are lifted. The essential prerequisite to whatever might follow is the lifting of the emergency first.

Nothing can be considered until this elementary precondition is satisfied. All other issues are at a standstill and cannot move forward until this preliminary condition is met. Nothing becomes relevant until the emergency is lifted.

In the context of the present situation in this struggle for democracy in its present form, as a protest against this tyrannical law which stands as a wall between the people and their freedom, I hereby withdraw my writ petition and declare that if within one week from today the emergency is not lifted, I will undertake a hunger strike unto death. In giving the Government a week's time I am providing it with a reasonable opportunity to dispassionately conclude that it is in the national interest to lift the emergency.

This is not a personal demand. It is made in good faith with the purest motive and not in the spirit of an ultimatum. On me contrary my decision reflects the demand of the people of Pakistan from the depths of their being.

In the end I salute the youth of East and West Pakistan, the true heroes of this great movement.

Why Ayub Fell

Address at the District Bar Association, Hyderabad,

June 26, 1969

It was on 24th September last year that we held a convention of our party at Hyderabad where I made a policy statement on the aims and aspirations of the Pakistan People's Party. In that speech I pledged to the people of Pakistan that we shall fight to the bitter end to destroy dictatorship in this country. In that speech I gave a warning to President Ayub Khan and told him that his days were numbered because although he had the Basic Democrats, the officials, the police, the armed forces, the capitalists the industrialists, the landlords, the sycophants, the opportunists, the controlled national press, yet a final push by the people of Pakistan will throw him out. The people of Pakistan gave him that final kick and in six months the dictator collapsed before the wrath and power of the people.

Pakistan will never again see a dictator like Ayub Khan just as Germany will not see another Hitler and Italy will not see another Mussolini. It is wrong to say that we have completed the full cycle. Some people say, well Ayub Khan has gone; one Khan has gone, another Khan has come; one dictator has gone, another dictator has come: one Martial Law has gone, another Martial Law has come. This is not correct. History shows that nations do not go back. They move forward. They progress all the time. It is always a march forward. It is not correct to say that we stand in the same place and that there is no movement towards the betterment of the people. No struggle can go waste. The people's sacrifices can never go waste. This is the rule of history. Do not think that your sacrifices have been in vain and that you have to feel despair because the struggle you launched against dictatorship shows that the people of Pakistan will not tolerate dictatorship forever, that the people of Pakistan are willing to fight for their rights, that the people of Pakistan are willing to make sacrifices for their rights and their

struggle will continue until they attain their rights. Believe me. Your struggle has not been in vain. You can see the signs.

The first sign is that when the Martial Law of Ayub Khan came, all political parties were dissolved and political activity was completely banned and Ayub Khan established institutions to perpetuate his dictatorship. He had a long-term programme to stay in power and not to restore power to the people. But that was 1958 and this is 1969. Eleven years have passed. The people know more about the world. The people are more awakened. They are more enlightened. They have tested their strength. They have seen the fulfilment of their collective wishes. So the Martial Law of 1958 is different from the Martial Law of 1969. This Martial Law is qualitatively different from the Martial Law of 1958. This is an important consideration because for one thing, this Martial Law has not banned political activity. This Martial Law has not disqualified politicians. This Martial Law repeatedly gives assurances for elections. I agree it is human nature to want to perpetuate yourself. One wants to remain in power, but conditions have changed. I think there is a general realisation that democracy will have to be restored. It is a question of time. The question is not whether democracy is to be restored or not, but when is democracy to be restored? That is the difference.

For that reason we are organising our party. We are not creating problems. We do not want to create unnecessary problems. We want to see that this country is strengthened. We want to see that this country achieves economic and social progress. We want our country to have a constitution. It is a disgrace that in 22 years we have not been able to frame a practicable constitution. We want to make a constitution, to overcome present problems because Pakistan is facing very serious problems. Our national unity is being strained. There is disappointment and despair everywhere. There are so many fundamental problems which require to be resolved. We are, therefore, anxious to find a solution to these problems. We are, therefore, anxious to cooperate in the task of framing a Constitution. We have to make our Constitution for a better Pakistan, a

happier Pakistan and a more vigorous Pakistan. We want to see our 120 million people live a life of security and satisfaction.

For all these great responsibilities and tasks, the Pakistan People's Party is willing to offer its fullest cooperation to the people of Pakistan. The Pakistan People's Party is a party of the people of Pakistan. Let me make it quite clear that it is a party of the workers and peasants and the students of Pakistan. It is not a party, afraid of struggle. It is a revolutionary party. It is a dynamic party. It is a party of the youth. It is the party of tomorrow. We are not courtiers. We are not opportunists. We are not seekers of office and we are not timid people. We have struggled against dictatorship in this country. We exposed ourselves to danger. We have risked everything for the glory of our country. This is our tradition. The world has seen the contribution the Pakistan People's Party has made in throwing out a dictatorship.

We know that if there is trouble this time, God knows how it will end and where it will end. This is the most important consideration in our mind. Next time if there is trouble, it might go out of hand. It might be exploited internationally. All sorts of problems might arise and heaven knows what the final shape of that struggle will be. For this reason, we are making a very patient and a very steady appraisal of the situation. We are aware of the delicacy of the situation. We do not want trouble for the sake of trouble. We do not want chaos for the sake of chaos. We want to fight for the rights of the people but the question is the framing of a constitution. Look at the position we have taken. You will see that we have made a correct appreciation of the situation. We have said the most important task is to have a Constitution, a Constitution acceptable to the people of Pakistan.

Now, when we started the big movement against Ayub Khan, if you remember, I had said there must be a new Constituent Assembly, that only a Constituent Assembly could frame a Constitution for Pakistan. After some time,

some leaders of other political parties said that if there was another Constituent Assembly, it will again take five to six years to frame a Constitution and it might again get into difficulties, again, there might be a crisis, again we might get a deadlock. We replied that the logical answer lay in having a new Constituent Assembly. For this answer we had taken into account conditions in Pakistan, and the past experience of two Constituent Assemblies. Only an elected body should frame Pakistan's Constitution. We said we did not want the 1956 Constitution because it was defective. The 1956 Constitution was framed by an illegal Constituent Assembly. It did not really have a legal basis because, only the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had a mandate from the people to frame a Constitution. It was dissolved by Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad who struck the first blow at democracy by dissolving the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. That was in 1954. At that time people were not aware of their rights. The country was new. We had recently acquired our independence. Leadership was weak. What was the response to this first blow to democracy? Only a writ petition filed in the High Court by Maulvi Tamizuddin.

If it were possible to destroy dictatorships by filing petitions, thousands of writ petitions would have been filed against Ayub Khan, but that is not the way to fight a dictatorship because if dictatorship could be defeated through such a simple method, there would be no dictatorships. No one challenged this illegal act really, neither the leadership nor the people. That encouraged other dictators. They thought it was simple to impose dictatorship. Ayub Khan may have made up his mind on that day when Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the first Constitution Assembly and there was no popular reaction. You overthrew Ayub Khan's dictatorship not by write petitions but by the combined force of the people of Pakistan. That should be a warning to dictators of the future.

We are prepared to frame a constitution and the sooner we do so, the better. The country must have a constitutional base. The legal basis of a country is its constitution. It is a fundamental law. It is a basic law. It is a law from which

all laws flow. It is most unfortunate that we do not have that law. It is a tragedy. The 1956 Constitution was defective and undemocratic, but taking into account our past experience, our history, I would reluctantly say, most reluctantly, a say in spirit of compromise, in order to achieve unity and consensus, that we would even be prepared to consider the 1956 Constitution, provided it was amended before being enforced. I say it should be enforced first and amended later, because our experience in the past has been very bitter. There have been many betrayals. There have been many people who gave pledges and then went back on them. There were many people who made commitments and then withdrew from those commitments. We cannot, therefore, have the 1956 Constitution imposed first without amendments and then have the Assembly called in. That is not acceptable. That can never be acceptable to the Pakistan People's Party. If you want the 1956 Constitution, with all its defects, I would say in a spirit of compromise that we are prepared to consider it provided one Unit is dissolved. First dissolve One Unit and provide for these provinces in the Constitution. That is the first amendment and that is a basic amendment without which we are not prepared to consider other amendments. By dissolution of One Unit, I mean genuine provincial autonomy and not a fraud.

The second amendment should be that representation in the lower house be on the basis of population. It is a fundamental principle of democracy. I cannot help it if the majority of people live in East Pakistan. We believe in one Pakistan and Muslim brotherhood. We believe in Islamic unity. If we talk so much about Islamic unity, then why are we reluctant to concede the factual position. If the majority of the people is living in East Pakistan, it is not their fault. If the majority was from here, then there would be no controversy, but because the majority is from there, there is a controversy. We do not believe in twisted principles. We believe in straight principles. My straight principle is that democracy means, "one-man one-vote." And if the majority of people live there, that is all right—they are our brothers. We will trust them. We will not suspect them. They will work for the solidarity of Pakistan. If for eleven years they could tolerate Ayub Khan, why

should they not tolerate their elected representatives? We are going to restore a federal form of government with provincial autonomy.

It will also be a basic principle of the constitution that provinces must reflect their equality. Provincial autonomy means provincial equality. This is a fundamental principle. There must be equal provincial representation in the upper house. You will not come across a single federation anywhere in the world where you have provincial autonomy and where provincial equality is not reflected in the structure of the government. We take into account the most classical case of the federation, of the United States of America with its 50 states. You have two houses—the House of Representatives on the basis of population and the Senate where all states regardless of size or population have equal representation.

A federation means union among equal parts. If it is to be a union of equal parts, then it is essential that we must have an upper house. These are our three basic amendments. There might be one or two other amendments, but subsidiary amendments, not basic. If those amendments are brought into the 1956 Constitution, beforehand, and not after it has been imposed, we are prepared to consider it in the interest of the restoration of constitutional rule and in the interest of the return of normal conditions in Pakistan.

Now if you allow me, I would like to say something about One Unit, because this is an important consideration. The One Unit was formed not by the people of Pakistan, but by a coterie of individuals, of palace intriguers. They formed One Unit, not for the solace of the people of Pakistan, but to grab total power, to have the full monopoly of power in their hands. There was a fallacy in the scheme. The fallacy was that they wanted to create a balance between East and West Pakistan. The first ambition was total exercise of power from the central capital. The second aim was to create a balance between East and West Pakistan. Now how was the One Unit imposed? It was not imposed by the

elected representatives of the people. You know in Hyderabad under what conditions the One Unit Resolution was rammed through the Sind Assembly. What irregularities were committed to get the approval of the Sind Assembly! You are fully aware of its history. I do not want to repeat it. The same thing happened everywhere. You must remember that those people in the smaller provinces, who made One Unit were acting as agents of this coterie.

That is an important consideration. They were actually being exploited. Now what do they say now? They say that some promises were made to them at that time. This means that they still think that inherently the One Unit is good, but it failed because promises were broken. What were these promises? The promise was that the Sindhi politician who steered it through the Sind Assembly will be made Chief Minister of West Pakistan. Do you believe if he had become Chief Minister, One Unit would have been successful? These matters do not depend on which individual becomes Chief Minister. It is something much more basic and complicated.

Old politicians thought they are the masters of the people and that they will rule for all times. They surrendered provincial autonomy without even asking for a pledge, a written pledge. When a man makes a transaction, even the smallest transaction, at least something is written down, something on a paper. There was nothing in this case, only verbal promises. The One Unit was an unnatural creation. But at least when they say that promises were made, when you are making such a mighty transaction, when you are parting with autonomy, the culture and the rights of a whole region, should you rely on mere promises? And what promises? That a certain Sindhi politician will be made Chief Minister for ten years!

This shows how irresponsible they were. This shows how incapable they were of leadership and why it is necessary to condemn them for all times, so that never again can they sell their constituents down the river. Their fate should be

an abject lesson for all potential traitors. I have no personal grievance against them, no personal grudge. Do you realise how much bitterness and hatred has come in the wake of this unnatural phenomenon? How much Pakistan has been weakened? How much Pakistan has suffered? These people will have to be made accountable just as the people are demanding that Ayub Khan should be made accountable. Why are the people demanding that Ayub Khan should answer for his deeds? Our people are not bloodthirsty. Our people have suffered a lot. When they succeed in something, they are prepared to forget but, yet, they are asking for Ayub's trial so that no one in future should aspire to become an Ayub.

The second fallacy of the One Unit was that a balance cannot be created in this fashion. You cannot have a federation of two provinces. A federation of two provinces does not exist anywhere in the world. If a federation has to succeed, it must be of more than two provinces. A two-province federation means two equal parts. Two equal parts mean two countries eventually. It means two entities—polarisation. This was bound to happen. I anticipated this in 1954. At that time as leader of Sindh Youth Front, I wrote a pamphlet on it and I foresaw this. I said One Unit will fail. It cannot succeed. Apart from all its other unnatural consequences, it was intended to take East and West Pakistan apart. When you have two separate and equal provinces, naturally, there are centrifugal pulls. It becomes a sort of competition.

I gave you a pledge in the Sindh University that I will never betray the interest of any part of Pakistan, because I believe in the glory of Pakistan. I believe in the greatness of Pakistan. And I also told you to give me sometime. I wanted time because I wanted to impress on some of the leaders of the Punjab that if One Unit continued it will destroy Pakistan. And today Mumtaz Daultana has said that the Unit must go. Maulana Maudoodi had at one time said 'Long live Sindh' means 'Death to Pakistan.' People like him do not understand the

problem. They should first understand a problem and then make a statement, but he does not understand it, he does not understand even Islam.

Today, there is a unanimous movement for the dismemberment of the Unit. Only a coterie of big businessmen, bureaucrats and some opportunist politicians have benefited from this scheme. It has, therefore, to go. I am glad that now it has become a unanimous demand.

This is a step forward. This is also the result of your sacrifices. How can I forget the sacrifices that the Sindh University students made? On 21st of April of last year. I gave a pledge to the students of the Sindh University that their sacrifices will never go in vain and a movement is to be launched. Their sacrifices will not be forgotten. We are coming close to the realisation of our just demands and I tell you that, as far as I am concerned, I will stand by you. You will not find one statement of mine on One Unit as Minister, not a single statement you will find in which I gave support to One Unit. I wanted its dissolution on a national basis, because it could only come on a national basis. I wanted to speak to the people of the other parts of the country about the disastrous consequences of One Unit. I explained this to my party committee of the Punjab and Bahawalpur and it passed a unanimous resolution for the dismemberment of One Unit.

That is why I told you to give me time because after all we have to work together. I cannot take the line of the past, the opportunists' line. To me the people are supreme, to me the people are the masters. I owe everything to the people of Pakistan. They are my friends: they are the ones who stood by me, who have been with me all through my struggle.

Now so far as a zonal federation is concerned, it is another dangerous scheme. I do not understand in the first place why there should be a zonal federation. After all, provinces existed before One Unit. The same river Indus

was there before One Unit. They say how will the irrigation system function? How will the electric power and railways function? This is not correct. We are not the only country in the world with a river. We are not the only country in the world with electricity. We are not the only country in the world with railways. There are other countries. You have an Indian federation where there are so many rivers, passing through various provinces. You have a river in the United States that not only flows through many states but through Canada, another country. There is the Danube in Europe which flows through many countries of Europe and whose waters are shared by all in a civilised manner. But if you hand over the government to people who do not know how to run an administration then they say, "How will the irrigation system work?" Well my answer to them is, "If you do not know how to work it, we will show you how to do it."

It is not, therefore, correct to say that administration cannot run without unification of the provinces. Administration can run smoothly if we go for the common good. We do not want to usurp anyone's rights. We all have a share in the facilities of the country, its wealth and resources. We will decide who will share what. We may set up an autonomous body, if necessary, to handle inter-provincial matters. These are matters which have been solved by other countries. There are solutions to these problems. We know the solutions to these problems. A zonal federation is not necessary. It will be like giving with one hand and taking away with the other. It will kill provincial autonomy. And why do they want to divide and create one more province of Bahawalpur? If the people of Bahawalpur and Multan want a province, that is a different thing, but is it in their self-interest that they should create a new province? First, they destroyed the real provinces; now they want to create artificial provinces. When we have real provinces, genuine historic provinces, they call for an end to provincialism. First they said provincialism was a curse and un-Islamic. Now they want to create one more province. Where is the logic? Tomorrow they will create another province in north Bengal. They want mischief. They want trouble. They are troublemakers, they

are mischief-mongers, they are opportunists. Unless there is trouble, they cannot survive.

If the people of Bahawalpur and Multan have any difficulty, then we have got to ask the people of Multan and Bahawalpur whether they want a separate province. We have not heard them make this demand. We are aware of this demand in Sind, in Baluchistan, in Sarhad but not in Bahawalpur. The old provinces have existed historically, linguistically, culturally, at the time of the British, and long before the British. The most important effect of a zonal federation will be that a day will soon come when East Pakistan will demand a confederation. They will say, "If you can share three or four subjects between yourselves in the West, then let us also share two or three subjects only and have a confederation. The principle is the same." The East Pakistanis will say since we are separated by one thousand miles, let us make confederal arrangements. They will say, "Then let us go a step forward. You have taken a step towards a zonal federation, now take a step towards confederation."

We will never give up our struggle for democracy. The Pakistan People's Party's manifesto says that democracy is our polity. Democracy is a government in which the people have a voice. It is their government. East and West Pakistan can only remain together under democracy. When you have elected representatives from there and elected representatives from here, voting jointly, supporting government policy jointly, only then will our unity be lasting. We are going through a delicate period, a difficult period. The Government has repeatedly said it is going to restore democracy. We have given it time and we will see. We are watching. We are developing our party. We have no reason so far to doubt that it does not wish to restore democracy.

We are prepared to cooperate but we will wait for a reasonable period of time only. We will wait for a reasonable period of time within which One Unit is broken and within which we evolve the fundamental principles of the constitution.

For that we are not only prepared to wait but we are prepared to cooperate. But if this regime goes back on its word and wants to perpetuate itself, then we will fight this regime also.

We want a definite change in the economic system, a real change in the economic system. And for that we want to bring in genuine reforms, especially in industry, because it is there that the worst damage is being done now. We want to bring total reforms in the country. This is a poor country. It is a country where people live under miserable conditions. These conditions have to change. There are poorer countries than Pakistan but they have a better social system. Why cannot we have it in Pakistan? Twenty-two years is too long a period of time. The wheels of history cannot be reversed, and no matter what propaganda is made, no matter what is said, history advances according to a set pattern. You must realise that you have to fulfill the people's aspirations. Without that there can be no settlement of any problems.

No amount of false propaganda would do. First of all, it is said that socialism is anti-Islamic. Islam is our religion. Pakistan came into being because we were Muslims. We will sacrifice everything for Islam. Islam means the strengthening of the Muslim people. How can we serve Islam if the Muslims of the world are weak? How can Pakistan be strong and progressive if the people of Pakistan are weak and they are starving and they do not have even food, shelter and clothing? How can we talk of the strength of Pakistan and the strength of Islam? If you want to serve Islam, if you want to serve Pakistan, then serve the Muslims of Pakistan, the people of this Islamic country. Make the people strong. Make the people powerful and in this way you will be doing service to your God, to your Prophet and to your country.

There is undoubtedly the principle of democracy in Islam. From that principle we extract the parliamentary form of government, adult franchise, supremacy of the judiciary, fundamental rights, central legislature, bicameral

legislature, all from one principle, but where is the parliamentary form of government as such to be found in Islam? But from that one principle we develop sciences because they are not in conflict with the principle. If Islam contains the principle democracy, surely, it also contains the principle of equality. Islam emphasises more on equality than on anything else. Its dynamism is based on equality. The whole inspiration of Islam is based on equality. We cannot see equality in Pakistan. We want to create equality, but when we talk of equality, of socialism, we are dubbed anti-Islamic. Why this inconsistency?

I made my last tour of the Frontier Province in July, a very exhaustive tour. I must tell you that our party there has become very strong. It is strong in the Punjab. It is strong in Karachi. It is strong in Sind and it is growing everywhere. Why is it growing everywhere? Because we have principles and we stand by principles. We have principles, which are in the interest of the people of Pakistan. We have friends and comrades ready to sacrifice and struggle for the betterment of Pakistan. All of you must join us to lay the bricks of that magnificent Pakistan that we want to build. We are busy organising our party. I believe we will have an election. The Government knows that the situation is delicate. They know this much. The situation is explosive. They are aware of it and when they say that they want to restore democracy, I believe them because there is no alternative but to restore democracy. This is the only answer if Pakistan is to survive and remain one. There is no other solution.

You see, gentlemen, force has two aspects. When you use force for a just cause, people make sacrifices, like the people of Vietnam. When you apply force for a moral cause you succeed. People fight for their rights. People always fight for their rights. From the beginning of time, step by step, people have gained more and more rights after struggle. Force when used for the rights of the people can never fail; but remember that force used against the rights of the people must always fail. Force for a just cause succeeds; for a false cause it can never succeed.

The answer to Pakistan's problems is to do the right thing, not to use force. If you want to avoid force, then do not do the wrong things. This is one lesson from Ayub Khan's rule of eleven years, namely that force is not the answer to our problems. It cannot be the answer to the problems of any country. But most certainly, it is not the answer to the problems of Pakistan, because we are in two parts. It is more difficult to use force for a wrong cause in Pakistan than in any other country. This is fundamental. We must remember it. Why did Ayub fail? For many reasons. His system was corrupt, and he was dishonest, but he failed primarily because he believed in the use of force. On every matter he applied force. He indulged in vulgar use of force, abusive use of force, brute use of force and so he fell.

And why should force be used against your own people? Where is the victory, when you use force against your own people? Ayub Khan once had an argument with me in Baluchistan when I was a Minister and I told him, "Do not use force in Baluchistan. You are going to destroy this country if you use force in Baluchistan." And he said, "Well, I want to show them they cannot fight with my Government." I said, "Who will be the victor? You are talking like a foreign ruler." Of course, if the people do wrong, if they want to destroy their country, then the use of force is permissible, but for a right cause, the cause of the people. For a just cause, force has been used and has succeeded. You use force for freedom and independence; it is a just cause. If you use force for the liberation of your people and their emancipation and their equality, it is a just cause. But if you use force to suppress the people, to destroy the people, then it cannot succeed. It must fail.

So the use of force is not an answer to the problems of Pakistan. The answer is to be found in democracy, in the spirit of give and take, in the spirit of brotherhood, in the spirit of understanding, in the spirit of reconciliation. On that we are prepared to extend the fullest cooperation to everyone. To each and

every political party and to the present regime, we are prepared to offer our cooperation. But we cannot be intimidated and frightened.

So far I have been touring the country and organising my party. I am going to Cairo and Europe soon for two or three weeks. On my return, I am going to hold an important meeting of my party's Central Committee to take certain fundamental decisions. We would have by then seen in what direction we are moving. How we are moving. What requires to be done. After a most exhaustive search and study of the situation, we will undertake tours, after we have formulated our policy and taken into account all the problems of the country. I will tour Sindh to which I am looking forward very much, because I have not done this for a long time. I will tour every district of Sindh, every important city of Sindh. I will tour every district of the Punjab, every important city, every town. I will tour Karachi and Baluchistan. I will go to the Frontier again. I will go to East Pakistan and tour the whole area. Then I will be in a better position, knowing exactly how we stand. What should our fundamental outlook be; where we go from here; in what direction? I tell you, however, that there is only one direction we can take. That direction will be Pakistan's welfare, the people of Pakistan's welfare, that will be the direction we will take.

A word about Tashkent. I had to take a different position, during the war and at Tashkent. It was in the national interest. I could have been like the other Ministers who were saying. "Yes, it is all right. Why not? It was unavoidable." Pakistan's interests were involved at Tashkent, fundamental interests. It was not an internal problem. Internally, we can always fight and resolve disputes but it was an external problem. So it was not a question of being disloyal to Ayub Khan. There was no question of loyalty or disloyalty to Ayub Khan. The question was of loyalty to my nation, loyalty to my people, to Pakistan. I fought Ayub Khan on principles, for the solidarity and welfare of Pakistan. I parted company with him on the question of the sovereignty of Pakistan, on the self-respect of Pakistan, on the honour of Pakistan.

Yahya's Decision
Press Conference at Multan,
November 30, 1969

After a careful evaluation of President Yahya Khan's important broadcast, I would like to comment initially on the positive aspects of his policy statement. Two paramount decisions have been taken. One relates to the dismemberment of the One Unit and the other concerns the demand for proportionate representation. By taking these two decisions of vital importance to the country's future, we have covered half the road to a constitutional settlement.

The question of an upper house and the division of powers between the central and provincial governments has been left open for determination by an elected assembly which has to decide these two essential questions and other related matters within the prescribed limit of four months.

As much as the first half of the formula arouses satisfaction, the reluctance to proceed to the other two questions gives rise to concern. Taking into account the history of constitution-making in Pakistan and the recent political crisis that flows from it, I wonder whether it will be possible for an assembly to arrive at a settlement of the remaining two questions, particularly the sensitive issue of the division of powers between the centre and the provinces.

This is all the more apparent because the Assembly has still to determine whether the constitution will be framed on the basis of a simple or a two-thirds majority. If the Assembly is to determine the procedure, it might get immediately deadlocked as either procedure contains inherent implications if left to the Assembly itself. The lacunae on these essential issues might give rise to a serious constitutional deadlock and to a new confrontation.

Nevertheless on the whole we have covered some ground and let us hope and pray that with consensus and with effort we complete this difficult task in a spirit of national fulfilment. Let us hope that the relationship between the regime and the Assembly does not turn out to be a romance like that of Romeo and Juliet in which Juliet, that is, the Assembly, meets a tragic end in the prime of her life.